

A
Historical Review
of
Hindu India

(300 B. C. to 1200 A. D.)

BY

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PREFACE.

Having chanced to go through a copy of the History of Ancient India recently written by Prof. K. P. Jaiswal, I was struck with the wonderful ability, accuracy and thoroughness with which he unravelled many intricate points in the History of India during the period 300 B. C. to 500 A. D. The work seemed, however, to have been done somewhat hurriedly and there was evidence to infer that the learned author intended to write out a more comprehensive history, linking many of the gaps which still existed and illuminating many points which still remained obscure. To our misfortune that great scholar has been called away from this world, and no one appears to have taken up the thread of his researches.

Freed from the worries and anxieties of Government service, I took it as a pleasing duty, to devote some time to it, after retirement, and the present work is the result of my engagement in this direction. I wish it could have been dealt with by a younger and worthier scholar, and at first, I was under great hesitation to bring it out to the public. The annexed note from Rai Bahadur N. K. Sen, M. A., Registrar, Delhi University, has however encouraged me to publish it. If the learned public consider generally that I have succeeded in my attempt, even partially, I shall feel amply rewarded.

In ancient times Sindhu and Amba* came to be used as synonymous terms, and Sindhustan (or Hindusthān) and Ambasthān also came to be used as synonymous terms. By the time of Alexander's invasion however the term "Ambasthān" was, it appears, replaced by the more common name of Ambastha which according to the description

* In the masculine form, meaning "father"

of the country recorded by Greek historians was a powerful state in the lower reaches of the Indus. The inhabitants of Ambastha were worshippers of Vishnu (due perhaps to its proximity to Dwārkā), but those of the northern part of the Punjab were Shaivites. They took the surnames of Nāga and Nandi, as the nāga was the ornament of Mahādeva and the Nandi (Bull) was the vāhana or carrier of Mahādeva. The greatest among these Shaivites was king Karkot Nāg, who himself came to be deified and worshipped by his people who styled themselves as Kots, after the name of that king, and the country where they lived also came to be known as the Kot Desha *. The Kots, the Ambashthas, and in fact all people living in the Indus valley, were Vaidik Brāhmans who formed a highly civilised race that attained perfection in all departments of knowledge including the medical science, and the science of warfare and diplomacy. For this reason, the Rājās ruling in different parts of India made drafts on the people of this province, to strengthen their administration in the various departments, from time to time.

This explains, how an Ambashtha Brāhman came to be the mouthpiece of the Brāhmans of South Magadh in their discussions with Lord Buddha on a very important social question and also how Brāhman Vishnu Gupta of Taxila (alias Chānakya) came to be the minister of Maurya Chandragupta of Pippaliban (on the other side of the Ganges at Pātaliputra) and led him to success in his wars against the Nandas and the Greeks. Bimbisār having conquered with the help of these Ambashtha Brāhmans the kingdom of Champā extending from Bhāgalpur to the mouth of the sea (viz., the country lying to the west of the Bhagarathi, comprising the present Bhagalpur and Burdwan divisions) settled them as his feudatory

* This name appears in the map of the Punjab during Alexander's time.

chiefs in many parts of his empire including present West Bengal, and this is perhaps the first occasion on which the Ambasthas immigrated into Bengal. When the Maurya Guptas crushed the Nundas, and extended the empire from sea to sea, they also had brought over many Brāhmans from the Punjab, under the advice of Vishnu Gupta (Chānakya), and out of administrative necessity they were subsequently settled by him in the remote parts of the empire, including Bengal, which undoubtedly became their naval headquarters, and we may assume that the second instalment of immigration of Ambashtha Brāhmans into Bengal occurred about this time. It is almost certain that those who settled in Bengal had no attraction to go back to their mother province, which was then being overrun by the Greeks.

The brave people of the Punjab were struggling hard for the maintenance of their independence and culture with the Greeks for more than a century, but at last Greek kingdoms were set up there and the Aryans living in the northern part (who were the greatest sufferers in this long drawn warfare) migrated from Kot. They came out in batches. The first batch settled in Eastern Malva or Rajputana, then called Vidishā — near about Kotā, and formed a capital at Karkotnagar near Jaipur. After reigning here for several generations they shifted their capital to Padmāvati. From Chapters VI to VIII, it will be seen that on the invasion of the country by the Sakas, the Vidishā Nāgas retreated into the wilderness of the Central Province founding a capital at Nagpur Nandivardhan; their kinsmen the Vakātakas retreated from Vakata in Central India to Mekala (near about Bastar State) — and that branch of the Nāg family which was then ruling in Magadh (*viz.* the Chhota Nāgas) retreated into the hill forests of West Bengal where they settled

in tracts known as Panchakot or the land of 5 Kot kings. With the Chhota Nagas, orthodox Ambastha Brāhmans also, who still remained in Magadha, retired into the river-girt areas of Bengal to preserve the purity of their āchār-vyavahār. The Bara and Chhota Nāgas, as also their kinsmen — the Vakātakas — were in touch with each other through the roads passing through the forest areas in the South, and from Chapters IX and X it will be seen, that they annexed Orissa, controlled the Chets and developed the country south of the Vindhya, and Magadh in various directions, and raised the material prosperity of the people. The non-aryan usurpers were in the meanwhile dealing death, destruction and desolation in the North, making the country Brahminless, exterminating the Kshatriyas, creating an official caste out of the un-touchables and trying their best to destroy the Hindu social system. Destruction of Anārya power was therefore an urgent necessity, but this act of destruction was the function of God "Shiva". When therefore after due "sādhana", of Shiva and Mahā shakti, the Nāgas were convinced that they were capable of shouldering the burden of "Śhiva" they assumed the name of "Bhārshiva Nāga", or "Naba-Nāga". All the Kots in exile — the Chhota Nagas of Bengal, the Bara Nagas and Vakatakas of Central India, the Sens of Mathura (a branch of the Bara Naga family) with the Guptas of Ambastha in the far west, in full co-operation delivered attacks on the Kushans, and in this they were completely successful. The Bengal Nagas delivered the attack from the front and dislodged the seat of the military governor of the Kushans in Magadh and Benares in about 150 A. D. The Bara Nagas and Bakatakas harassed them at the flanks with the result that the Kushan power was shattered in Mathura. King Birsan of the Nag family with the help of Maharaja Gupta of Ambashtha in the Punjab threw the Kushans still further back and by 250 A. D. Northern India, upto

the confines of the Punjab, was freed from Mlechchha rule.

Only a few places in Sindh still remained under the domination of Sakas. That part of Sindh where the river Sindhu meets the sea, was in ancient times known as Pātāl, and if we recall slokas Nos. 34 and 35, Chapter 12 of Mārkaṇḍeya Chandi *viz.* —

दैत्याश्च देव्या निहते शुम्भे देवरिपौ युधि
जगत् विध्वंसिनि तस्मिन् महोद्रेऽतुल विक्रमे
निशुम्भे च महावीर्य्ये शेषाः पाताल माययुः॥

It strikes us that the Mārkaṇḍeya Chandi depicts the war between the Nagas, Sens and Guptas as gods, on one side and the Shakas and Kushons as Asuras on the other side and on the victory being won by the Nagas, Senas, and Guptas by the overthrow of the Shaka chiefs, it proceeds to say that Aryyavarta was freed from the Shaka oppression, and the remnants of Shakas found refuge in the Pātāl desh *i. e.* in parts of Sindh.

The result of the victory in this war* was that —

(a) Prabar Sen the elder son of the Nāga General (Vindhya Shakti) was crowned as the Bakatak emperor, and he thus became the first Murdhāviśikta king after about a century (250 A. D.)

(b) Prabar's son Gautamiputra married a Nāga princess and inherited the Nāga Empire.

(c) Prabar's brother Bir Kurcha married a Nāga princess and getting Andhradesha as a dowry founded the Pallava dynasty.

*This war lasted from about 140 A.D. to about 250 A.D. The Chandi says that the war between the Devas and the Asuras lasted

“पूरुषमव्यशतं पुरा”

- (d) A representative of the Bengal Nagas *viz.* the Kot prince Sundar Singha was crowned king of Magadh with his name suffix altered from "Singha" to "Varma" expressing his obligation to stand by the Imperial Bhārshiva Nagas in times of trouble.
- (e) The tract of land from Anu Ganga (Prayāg) to Ajodhya Sākat was given as a fief to Maharaja (Sri) Gupta.

The duration of Kot rule in Magadh was however very short as we find that the throne of the Kot king was occupied by Chandra Gupta I, of Ambashtha country, in about 275 A.D. From Chapters XII to XV it will be seen how this Chandra Gupta was expelled from Magadh and how in his place the crown was offered to Sundar's son Kalyan Varma and how again Samudra Gupta recaptured from Kalyan the throne for his father. That the Guptas ruled the country for nearly 4 centuries *viz.* from about 350 A.D. to about 750 A.D., and their reign was a most glorious chapter in Indian history will be evident from a perusal of Chapters XVI to XXII, which will also indicate that the capital of the Yuvaraj of the Imperial Guptas, was originally at Champā (Bhagalpur) but was subsequently transferred to Nagar in Birbhum, and the territory under his direct administration came to be known under various names : *viz.*—Salbahan, Aparmandar, Nagar and Dakshin-Rarh. The Yubaraj—who was a Mahāsāmanta of the emperor (exercising the powers of control over several Samanta princes of the empire, as well as those of the Commander-in-Chief) had a Samanta king under him called the king of Saptagram whose capital was at Tribeni at the confluence of the Ganges and the Saraswati (in the Hughly district) and who was in charge of the shipping and customs depart-

ments. Thus starting from Deva Gupta (Pre-coronation name of Vikramaditya the Great) every Gupta Emperor had as a Yuvaraja, reigned in Dakshin-Bharh before he stepped into the Imperial throne.

The capital of the Imperial Guptas was at first at Pataliputra, but later on they shifted the capital to Gaur in North Bengal. Keen on reviving Vaishnavism in Mathura Mandal they had also established a second capital at Ujjaini in Malva, where they ruled for several generations beginning with Chandra Gupta II, the great Vikramaditya. The original branch of the family which had been ruling the tract (Pryag to Oudh) received as a fief by Maharaja Sri Gupta after the victory in the Kushan war, became known as the Maukhari family. They continued to function as feudatories to the Imperial Guptas with their capital at Kanauj. Having contracted matrimonial alliances with the Thaneshwar house (who became zealous Buddhists in the 7th century) the Maukhari Guptas lost the sympathy of the Imperial Guptas of Gour and Malva, and with the death of Grahavarma, the Maukharies disappeared from the stage of history,—the Kanauj empire passing into the possession of Harshavardhan of Thaneshwar, who transferred his capital from Thaneshwar to Kanauj and for a short while became the Emperor of India, by defeating Raja Shashanka, the Commander-in-Chief and Mahasamanta of the Imperial Guptas, and extorted the oath of allegiance from the Gupta emperor of Gaur. With the death of Harshvardhan, the imperial status of Kanauj was gone, and that of the Guptas of Gaur was restored only for a few generations, for the rulers were weak. Magadh and Gaur became a prey to external powers and matsyanyāya prevailed in the land.

From Chapters XVII and XVIII it will be seen that the Samanta Chakra of the empire led by the Maha-

samanta (who represented the line of the eldest son of the Gupta Emperor, but according to custom was the direct ruler of Salbahan, with the capital at Nagor) elected Gopal as the Emperor for the purpose of strengthening the Central Government, and this new Imperial family (known in history as the Pāl family) ruled for about four centuries and a half, being up-rooted by the Mohomedans in 1197.

The Salbahana throne at Nagore which had upto this time been a stepping stone to the Imperial throne was from the days of Samudra Gupta reserved for the Yuvaraja of the Imperial Gupta family, but after the advent of the Pals it ceased to be the recruiting ground for the Imperial throne of Gaur. The Salbahan house continued to reign in Dakshin Rarh or Apar Mandar as hereditary rulers under the new surname of "Surs". They were the direct descendants of the Imperial Guptas, but never fought with the Imperial Pals to whom they paid their allegiance.

From Chapters XXVII and XXVIII, it will be seen how with the growth of intolerance in religious matters, the power of the Pals declined and Adisur (the Salbahan king of Aparmandar) drove away the Pals from East Bengal, established a strong hold at Vikrampur, and applied himself to the revival of Varnashram Dharma in that part of the country. A perusal of these chapters will also show how both the Pal and the Sur powers declined, and how ultimately that power was virtually shattered by the Koibarta Revolt, and the invasions of Rajendra Chola and Ananta Varma Choreganga of Kalinga.

It was about this time that Samanta Sen (a scion of a Sen family of Rarh or West Bengal whose ancestors had emigrated to Karnat) returned to Bengal with

his son, to pass his last days on the bank of the Ganges. His grandson Bijoy Sen, who had married a daughter of the runaway king of Aparmandar during the chaos and confusion that prevailed during the Koibarta Revolt, successfully defeated the Kalinga invaders, the Pals, the Varma rulers of Vikrampur, and Nanya Deva, the king of Mithila. It will also be seen that his fleet went as far as Delhi and took possession of the Delhi kingdom for him.

Bejoy Sen, king of Bengal, then ruled at Delhi for a little over 18 years *viz.* 1101 A. D. to 1119 A. D. in which he appears to have died. Ballal Sen, son of Bijoy Sen, who had been ruling in Bengal as his father's representative, became a crowned king on his father's death in 1119, but he immediately proceeded to Delhi to conduct the administration of that kingdom personally, — investing his son, Lakshman Sen, with the powers of the viceroy to rule in Bengal on his behalf. Ballal reigned at Delhi for 50 years from 1119 to 1169 and Lakshman Sen's eldest son Madhav, lived with him there from his early boyhood. To strengthen his position in Delhi, Ballal entered into matrimonial alliance with the Mahial Vaidya Brahmans of the Punjab and also with the Chauhans of Ajmer by giving away his Chalukya queen's adopted daughter to Prince Someshwar Chauhan of Ajmer out of which marriage, a son was born who became famous in history as Rai Pethora or Maharaja Prithwiraj. In 1169, at the age of 86 Ballal made a gift of his kingdom extending from Delhi to Bhatinda (Patiala) to Prithwiraj and then retired with his queen, grandson Madhav Sen and staff to Allahbad to breathe his last at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna, and actually died in that year. Lakshman Sen then became crowned king of Bengal in 1169, and as such ruled there for 7 years till his death in 1176, when Madhav Sen was formally crowned king of Bengal.

As his grandmother, the old queen of Ballal was still alive at Allahabad palace, he had to go back to her after entrusting the administration of Bengal to his next younger brother Keshav Sen who is known in history as Lakshmaneya.

During Madhav's absence from Allahabad to attend to the sick-bed of his father (Lakshman Sen) and to the coronation ceremonies after Lakshman's death, Prithwiraj, through youthful indiscretion, carried away the daughter of Jaichand, the Garwal king of Kanauj (whose hospitality was being enjoyed by the Sen Royal house at Allahabad) and thus made him a sworn enemy of his own and of the Sens. From Chapter XXXV it will appear that after the death of the old queen in 1186, Madhav Sen raised his camp at Allahabad and proceeded towards Bengal with a fleet of boats but his progress was stopped by the Kanauj king. There was a skirmish in which among others, both King Madhav Sen and his son, Sur Sen, were killed. The rest of the party were made captives and ultimately allowed to proceed neither towards Bengal, nor back to Delhi, but towards the hills in the North. Sur Sen's son, Rup Sen, settled with his family at Rupar in Umballa district, but after a longdrawn warfare with the Mahomedans who had then just come in, he was killed and his sons retreated further into the hill district and founded the ruling houses of Mandi, Suket, Keonthal, etc. Shortly after this, King Prithwiraj of Delhi was killed in a battle with Sahabuddin Gori. Many Bengalis were in his service both as civil and military officers. Some of them were killed, and some fled in different directions and settled in Bangawal in Kangra, some in Banga in Jullundur, and some in Bangal in Patiala. In Bengal after the death of Madhav Sen at Allahabad, his brother, (Lakshmaneya or) Keshav Sen was crowned king, but

he lost the kingdom after a reign of about 15 years through the treachery of his Army General and the Mahomedans got a foothold in the country.

Since the invasion and occupation of the country by the Greeks, Shaks, Kushons, Huns, etc. the Hindu powers which played important part in the history of India, were principally :—

1. (a) The Imperial Nāgas of Padmawati, Nagpur-nandi-Vardhan Purika.
- (b) Branch of the Naga family ruling from Mathura under the name of "Uttaryadavas" or "Bir Sen Vansa", of "Sur Sena Vansa".
- (c) Branch of the above family which on the advent of the Guptas, and on the conversion of Ujjaini into a second Capital by them, shifted from Mathura and founded (with the Imperial assent), a kingdom in the South, called the Rashtra-Kuta Kingdom.
- (d) Branch of the Nāg family which ruled from Thaneshwar.
- (e) Branch of the above family ruling under the name of Chutta Nags, Sinhas and Kesaris, in the forest areas of West Bengal, Chutta Nagpur and Orissa.
2. (a) The dynasty founded by Vindhya-Shakti, the Army General and Kinsman of the Imperial Nāgas, known as Bakatakas or the Southern Sens, who inherited the Nāg empire on matrimonial grounds with capital in Mekala (Raipur, Bastar).
- (b) A branch of the above dynasty which under the name of "Pallavas" ruled from Konjiiverum.

(c) The Chaluqyas who inherited the Bakatakas
(or Southern Sen) empire.

3. (a) The Kadambas of Banabasi or Mysore provinces, who subsequently became feudatories to the Bakatakas.

4. (a) The Imperial Guptas ruling first from the Pataliputra and then from Gaur (Malda District in Bengal) with a second capital at Ujjaini in Malva.

(b) The branch of the family ruling from Nagar, the capital of Dakshin Rarh or Salbahan or Aparā Mandar.

(c) Blood relatives of the Imperial Guptas (known as the Māgadhi dynasty or Gangā dynasty or Shālankāyan or Gajapati dynasty) ruling in Kalinga.

(d) Do. do. (known as Maukhari
dynasty ruling from
Kanauj)

(e) Do. do. in Kamrup.

(f) Do. do. in Saptagram.

(g) Do. do. (known as Karnatic Sens
ruling from Navadvipa
and Vikrampur).

5. The Rajputs who rose from the ashes of the Guptas of Gour, Kanauj, and Malwa, and the Nāgvansi Yadavas of Thaneshwar.

Historians hold a difference of opinion as regards the caste of these ruling houses. Leaving aside the contradictory views recorded in the Puranas we have to decide this question on (1) inscriptional evidences, and (2) matrimonial alliances contracted between the several houses, bearing in mind that a daughter could be given

away in marriage to a person only of the same Varna or of a higher Varna.

Now in the Talgunda inscriptions we find that Mayur Sharma (ultimately Mayur Varma), the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was born in a learned *Brahman* family, and the Deogiri plates of Kadamba King Krishna Varma I., assert that the Kadambas are descended from the Imperial Nāgas. This therefore establishes that both the Kadambas and the Nāgas were of the Brahmin caste. Some of the Western scholars are of opinion that the Nagas were an un-civilised non-aryan race, but this is not correct. It is the Nāgas who performed Ashwamedh Yajna for ten times at Benares. It is the Nāgas who aryanised the country south of the Vindhya range upto the Ajanta Ghat range. It is they who introduced Hindusthani language in that part of the country. It is the Nagas who introduced the Nagri character in Sanskrit works. It is under the lead of the Naga emperors that a war was waged against the Kushons for about a century and it terminated successfully. Of all the cultured people then living, they were the most cultured so that a "नागर" came to mean "a fashionable gentleman" and a "नागरी" came to mean a fashionable lady living in the city" and their dwelling place also came to be called as "नगर". A large number of "नागर" Brahmans are still found in the C. P. and the Bombay Presidency, and there cannot be any doubt that the Imperial Nāgas were Brahmans by caste. It follows therefore that their branches *viz.*

1. The Bir Sens or Sur Sens of Mathura (otherwise known as Uttaryadavas).
2. The Uttaryadavas of Sinhapura, Alichhatra, and Thaneshwar.
3. The Rashtrakutas of Manyakhet.

4. The Chotta Nagas of the hill forests of West Bengal, Orissa and the Tributary Mahals, were also Brahmans. This disposes of the caste origin of the ruling houses mentioned against items 1 and 3.

As regards the caste origin of the Bakatakas and Pallavas mentioned against item 2, we have a direct evidence in the dedicatory writings in the Anjanta cave, in which the founder of the Bakatak or the Southern Sen family *viz.* Vindhya Shakti is described to have been a Brahman, upto the date of his death. His elder son Prabar Sen, who became the first anointed (मृद्वभिषिक्त) king after the Kushon war, not only performed Aswamedha Yajna, but Vrihaspati Yajna as well (which is open to Brahmans only).

In the Nasik Prasasti, Prabar's son Gautamiputra is described as 'Unique' Brahman — a destroyer of the pride and concept of the Kshatriyas. There cannot therefore be any doubt that the Bakatakas were Brahmans and so also was Birkurcha, — Vindhya Shakti's second son. This Virkurcha married a princess of the Imperial Naga family (who as we have seen above were Brahmans) and getting Andhradesha as a marriage dowry founded the Pallava dynasty. The Pallavas were therefore undoubtedly Brahmans by caste. It is true that in some inscriptions the Pallavas say that by doing austere political deeds, they have raised their status and become "Kshatriyas" but clearly the word 'Kshatriya' here does not mean the second rank of the Hindu social hierarchy, but only a 'Rajanya', a 'Kshaunindra' or 'Bhupati' and no more. In another inscription discovered in Trichinopoly, a Pallava king has been described as a "Brahmakshatriya" *i.e.* a Brahman conducting himself like a Kshatriya, and this appears to be the correct description of the caste. The Bakatakas

being Brahmans, the Chalugyas who inherited the Bakataka empire were also certainly Brahmans. The descendants of Bakatakas, the Senby Brahmans are found in the C. P. and the Western Presidency.

As regards the Imperial Guptas mentioned against item 4 we have no direct evidence for their caste, beyond their own saying that "they have come into this world to destroy the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas". As princess Kuber Naga of the Imperial Nag family (Brahmans) was given in marriage to Chandra Gupta II, the caste of Chandra Gupta II, could not have been lower than a Brahman *i.e.* the Guptas were also Brahmans. And this quite fits in, with their mission into this world. We can therefore now reasonably conclude that:

- (a) The branches of Imperial Gupta family ruling in Malva, Apar Mandar, and (under the name of Maukharis) in Kanauj were Brahmans.
- (b) The blood relatives of this Imperial family planted as rulers, by Samudra Gupta, in Kalinga, Samatata, and Kamrup were Brahmans.
- (c) The Sen king of Saptagram to whom a princess of the Dakshinrarh Royal house was married was a Brahman.
- (d) As a scion of the Saptagram house, migrated to Karnat in South India, and his descendants subsequently returned to Rarh and on the destruction of the Apar Mandar and Saptagram houses through warfare, took up their administration under the name of "Karnatic Sens" with capitals at Nabadwipa, Vikrampur, and Lakshmanawati, they were also Brahmans.

The history of the Rajputs has been thoroughly investigated by eminent scholars. I have not therefore made any researches in respect of them beyond expressing my view in regard to the origin of the Great Race — vide my remarks in the Chapter on the “Downfall of the Guptas”.

It will be seen that the above rulers, though they were actually Brahmans, and they gave out to the world that their mission was to destroy the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, have in some of their inscriptions styled themselves as Kshatriyas, and in some inscriptions have described themselves as Brahma-kshatriyas. The word Kshatriya in such cases means a Rajanya, and the word Brahma-kshatriya therefore means a Brahman who conducts himself like a Rajanya, *i.e.* a militant Brahman. That the civil population of these races were also described as Brahma-kshatriyas would be evident from the Madhai Nagar plate where Lakshman Sen, King of Bengal, is stated to have been surrounded by Brahma-Kshatriyas like Jayadeva (the immortal writer of the Gitagovinda) and his colleague Dhoyi Kaviraja (another jewel in Lakshman Sen's Court).

It is in contemplation to publish a genealogical table and brief history of all families who can trace their descent from the Gupta and Nag dynasties. The author will be grateful if he is favoured with necessary information for the compilation of that work. Suggestions for the improvement of this book in the next edition will also be gratefully attended to.

IMPROVEMENT AREA
AJMERE ROAD
JAIPUR, RAJPUTANA
The 1st March 1939

PANCHĀNANA RĀYA

ANNEXURE TO THE PREFACE.

OLD VICEREGAL LODGE,
DELHI.

From,

Rai Bahadur N. K. SEN, M.A.,
Registrar,
University of Delhi.

I have read with great interest and pleasure a typescript of "A Historical Review of Hindu India (300 B. C. to 1200 A. D.)" by Mr. P. Roy, Deputy Accountant General, Jaipur State. Mr. Roy has covered a large field of research work with considerable insight and ability, and by careful study of the history of Hindu India and a critical examination of the original sources of information, has found results which throw a flood of light on some of the most obscure problems of the ancient history of Hindu India. I consider Mr. Roy's work to be very valuable not only to the scholar and the research student but to the reading public in general. His industry, scholarship and critical acumen have filled me with admiration, as these qualities, in the measure in which Mr. Roy has shown them, are very rare indeed, particularly among those who have a vocation other than teaching. I hope Mr. Roy will soon publish his remarkable work.

DELHI,
29th Dec., 1938.

N. K. SEN.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDUS CIVILISATION.

After the archæological excavations recently conducted at Mahenjo Daro and Harappa, antiquarians have found ample evidences to come to the definite conclusion that in ancient times — perhaps thousands of years before the advent of Jesus Christ — there lived in the valley of the Indus, a highly cultured race, whose civilisation was at least as old as, if not older than, China and Egypt. The inhabitants of this valley used to live in brick-built houses constructed on very satisfactory sanitary consideration, with equally satisfactory provision for bath and drainage. They developed culture in arts and crafts, and used artistically designed vessels, jewellery, coin, and seals which are brought into use only after a race has attained to a high standard of civilisation. They used to burn the dead bodies to ashes, preserving only a few small bone relics in earthen vessels and brick enclosures. In the domain of literary pursuit, their culture attained the high water level mark in every branch, whether in grammar, or in literature, or in the Vedanta philosophy, or in mathematics and astronomy or in the science of medicine and surgery. This part of the country is always noted for its warrior-veterans. Even in the time of the Mahábhárata, Brahmin Military Instructors like Droná-cháryya had to be brought out from this part of the country to teach military science to the princes of ruling families in other tracts. In the pursuit of trade and commerce, they made sea-voyages to Egypt, Babylon, Ceylon, the coastal ports of India and Further India, the Malaya Islands, and China. They were Vaidick Brahmans, and those among them who became versed in Ayurved

after mastering all other Vedas and literature were called "Vaidyas". The position of the Vaidyas or learned physicians was superior to that of all others. The saying in the Mahābhārat "द्विजेषु वैद्याः त्रैयांसः" and the description of a Vaidya in the Rāmāyana as a "तात वैद्य" applied to these learned physicians. According to Lamaistic* literature the Buddhas have been classified under 5 groups, viz. (1) the Dhyāni Buddhas, (2) the Seven Buddhas of the past, (3) the 35 Buddhas of the confession, (4) the Tathāgata Buddhas, and (5) the 1000 Buddhas. Of these No. (3) include the Tathāgata Buddhas, — who are really the Tathāgata physicians forming a group of 8 Buddhas of which Śākyamuni is the President, and the Principal of the Institution is Be-du-ryai (वैद्यराय ?) Od-kvi-rgyat-po (कविराज ?) who holds a cup of ambrosia and a fruit or medicinal plant, and his colour is indigo-blue. Thus according to the Shāstras, both Hindu and Bauddha, the position of a Vaidya was only next to divinity, and a follower of Buddhism would address him not only to cure him of his physical ailments but also to obtain for him the remission of his sins, or at least, mitigation of his punishment. Families producing a succession of such learned physicians gradually came to be grouped under separate subdivision of Brahmins, called "Vaidyas", and, these Vaidyas have enjoyed an exalted position in Society through all ages. In the 8th century when the Vaidyas came to visit Lord Shankarācharyya at his sickbed, Shanker addressed them as follows:—

पितृकृता जनिरस्य शरीरिणः समवनं गदहारिषु तिष्ठति ।
जनितमप्य फलं भिषजां विना, भिषगसौ हंरिरेव तनुमृतः ॥ ‡

* Rose's Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and Frontier Provinces
Vol. I pp. 77-79

‡ Vide Shankar Bijaya Kavya.

Man owes his body to his father, but its protection in healthy condition rests with the Vaidya. Without the Vaidya, the body becomes a diseased and useless burden. Therefore the Vaidya is Vishnu incarnate. In later times the Shastras have enjoined “स न सिध्यति वैद्यस्तु गृहे यस्य न पूज्यते”—“That man never succeeds at whose home the Vaidya is not worshipped”. Even now is to be found in the Punjab a separate class of Brahmins, called Vaidyas* whose ancestors were ancient rulers of the land (viz. Mahipals or Bhumipals) but whose hereditary calling was “चिकित्सा”. These Vaidya Brahmins (otherwise known as Mahials) are found chiefly in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Shapur districts as landholders or in service (specially in the Army). The section of the Mahials, known as Baidas are hereditary physicians and they occupy a very high position in society. They marry girls of Brahmin families which are not Muhials, but do not give their daughters in marriage to Non-Muhial Brahmins. The Lau clan of these Muhials claim to be the descendants of Sur Sen, a great-grandson of Ballal Sen and they are mostly big landholders in Bajwara, Hoshiarpur district. All the Muhials have stopped the performance of priestly functions as that involves the acceptance of dakshina and dān, but none-the-less their position is superior to the priestly Brahmins in the social hierarchy.

2. The civilisation of these Vaidik Brahmins is generally known as Indus Civilisation, or *Saindhava* civilisation meaning, of course, the civilisation that spread in the Indus (Sindhu) valley. Of the seven rivers, daily invoked by us for the purification of our body and mind with their holy water, only the Sindhu is addressed as a father (“अम्ह”) and the rest are addressed as mother (“अम्मा”).

* Roses Tribes and Cotes of the Punjab and Frontier Province

अम्ब therefore indicates the Indus only and no other river, and the word “अम्बष्ठ” implies the country lying on the bank of the Indus or the people living therein. In the Digbijoy chapter of Sabhaparba of the Mahābhārata, the poet has named the countries, of which the rulers took the oath of allegiance to the Pandava.

तान् दशानि स जित्वा च प्रतस्थे पाण्डुनन्दनः ।

शिवान् खिगर्तान् अम्बष्ठान् मालवान् पञ्चकपर्दान् ॥’

which clearly shows that the people living in अम्बष्ठ (or the country so named being situated on the bank of the Indus) were subdued by the son of Pandu. Thus “सैन्धव” and “अम्बष्ठ” being synonymous it would not be incorrect to style this ancient civilisation as “अम्बष्ठ” civilisation as well.

3. Another term which was applied to mighty men of the Indus valley was गोप्ता which is derived from the root “गृप्” — “to protect”. As “गोप्ता” means a protector, this appellation could have been applied to those who were supposed to be the leaders and protectors of “ब्राह्मण्य धर्म”^१. We find that there still exists a kingdom named ‘Guptish’ near Gilgit on the Kashmere front; we know the Brahmin Rajas of Kashmere used the word “Gupta” as name suffixes; we know that the Great Chanakya’s another name was Vishnu Gupta; and we conclude from old coins discovered near about the “अम्बष्ठ” country that that country was ruled by Rajas having the surname “Gupta”. Even in the 9th century during the reign of Emperor Deva Pal of Gaur, we notice that there lived a Brahman savant at Nagarhar (near present Khyber Pass), named Indra Gupta, whose son Bir Deva after mastering all the Vedas became attracted to the tenets of Lord Buddha, retired to the Kaniska Bihar and ultimately became the Mahāsthavir of the Nālanda University. If then in

addition to the Indus or Ambastha civilisation we give this civilisation another name, viz. "Goptā" civilisation, we would not perhaps be far wrong. The object in giving this third name is due to the impression that the Punjab Goptā civilisation is at the root of the Copt civilisation of Egypt. That there was free intercourse between the two countries and a high standard of civilisation prevailed in both has been established beyond doubt.

4. In the beginning, this civilisation spread from the Kabul valley along the valleys of the five rivers of the Punjab to the valley of the Saraswati. That is why the ancient works sometimes refer to "सप्त सिन्धु देश" but in later ages, when the tracts lying to the west of the Indus were devastated by the repeated invasions and depredations of non-aryan tribes, when the "क्रिया कर्म" of the people could not be performed strictly in accordance with the Shastras, the inhabitants of this tract began to style themselves as belonging to the "सारस्वत श्रेणी" instead of "सैन्धव or अम्बष्ठ श्रेणी". In course of time, the flow of spring water at the source of the Saraswati having taken a different channel (due apparently to an earthquake or some other natural cataclysm), the river Saraswati dried up, and this civilisation also scattered in different parts of the country.

5. According to Mr. Rose's Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and Frontier Provinces (Vol. II, page 127) the Saraswat jurisdiction extended from the Saraswati river in Kurukshetra to Attock on the Indus, and is bounded by Pehowa on the east, by Ratia and Fatehabad in Hissar, by Multan on the south-west, and by Jammu and Nurpur (in Kangra) on the north.

6. The Government of the country was conducted on republican lines, but there were differences in the standard of Government between tract and tract, and according to these differences the country was divided into

numerous small states, so that the term **अम्बष्ठ** did in the end apply to that part of the country, on the north-east of which was **“मद्र”**, on the north-west of which was **“आराम”**, on the south-east of which was **“मालव”**, and by the west of which flowed the Indus. Messrs. Kennedy, Colebrooke, and Rose seem to be inclined to hold the view that **“अम्बष्ठ”** country was the same as **“अम्बस्थान”** by which name there was a place near about Rawalpindi, (*vide* page 54 of Vol. I of Mr. Rose's Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab), but I have ventured to differ from that view as the war records of Alexandar the Great show that his army was strongly opposed by the Ambasthas and Malvas in their march down the Indus valley from the field of battle. As the army must have covered a good distance from the battle field before the Ambasthas met them I have shifted their location down stream on the borders of Malav.

From the above war records it appears that during Alexander's time, the **“अम्बष्ठ”** country was on the lower **“Akesines”**. The Ambasthas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 600 cavalry and 500 chariots. (Invasion of Alexander, p. 252).

7. Various other name-suffixes were used by the Vaidik Brahmans of which a few are noted below:—

1. Pal — The Presidents and leaders of the Republics were called **“पाल”**. We know the last Brahmin kings of Afganistan used the word **“पाल”** as a suffix. There were also numerous **“महीपाल”** and Bhumipals (or Bhumihars).

2. Sen — **“सैना पत्याय धर्मार्थं सेनो वाच्यो बलाधिपः”**

3. Dash — **“दश संस्कार नैपुण्ये दाश इति पुरोधसे”**

4. Gupta — “ ब्राह्मण्य धर्मं गुप्त्यर्थं गुप्तः स हि प्रकीर्तितः ”
5. Datta — “ विद्या दानिषु नन्दति तस्मात् दत्तः इति स्मृतः ”
6. Raja — “ विद्यया राजते तस्मात् स राज इति चोच्यते ”
7. Soma — “ सोमयागे सुनै पुण्यात् सोमः स उच्यते बुधैः ”
8. Dhara — “ पाठे धारक कार्यार्थं याज्ये धर इति स्मृतः ”
9. Kara — “ याज्ञिकानाञ्च कर्तृत्वे कर इत्यभिधीयते ”
10. Kundu — “ यज्ञ कुण्डे हवनार्थं होता कुण्डोऽभिधीयते ”
11. Rakshit — “ धर्मः सुरक्षितो येन स रक्षित उदाहृतः ”
12. Indra — “ इन्द्रवत् बहुयष्टत्वात् इन्द्र साहि समीरितः ”
13. Aditya — “ अदितेः सुत पूजनात् आदित्य इति संज्ञितः ”
14. Deva — “ देवार्चनं परस्तस्मात् देवसंज्ञा तदाश्रया ”

8. In the southern part of this sacred land, on both sides of the Indus, the people were devout Vaishnavas due no doubt to the proximity of Dwárakádhám, but antiquarians have found ample evidences to conclude that as a rule the inhabitants were worshippers of the Lord of Lords, Mahádev, and “ जगदम्बा ” the Primeval Energy, the Mother of the Universe. The greatest among the Shaibas was Maharaja Karkot Nága, whose blessings are invoked even now by every true Hindu on the break of his sleep in the morning. The Throne, the Umbrella, and the Banner of this king bore the emblems of वृष (Mahádeva's वाहन) and नाग (His भूषण); and the members of his family used नाग and नन्दी as suffixes to their names. The people gradually came to deify him also and start his Puja, calling themselves as offsprings of the कटकुल. In Kashmer-Jammu*, Karkot-Puja, as a national festival, still prevails, and it is also noticed in history that this part of the country once went by the name

* Vide Rose's Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and Frontier Provinces and Professor Jaiswala's History of Ancient India.

कटदेश. Up to the time of the Greek Invasion, the Vaidik Bráhmans pursued their cultural avocations here in peace and attained a high standard of efficiency in every department including the military (as evidenced by the chronicles of Alexander's Conquests). It is therefore quite natural that when a Raja ruling in a different part of the country desired to strengthen his Army, or improve his Medical Department, or to have sound advice in matters relating to Politics or Economics, or to perform क्रियाकर्म in strict accordance with the Sástric injunctions, he had to bring out the wise men from the अम्बष्ठदेश ।

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION OF AMBASTHA BRAHMANS IN MAGADH.

At the time of the advent of Lord Buddha, the Magadh Rajya was protected by Nature with the Chhota Nagpur hill ranges on one side, and the Ganges and the Sone rivers on the other sides. The capital of this Kingdom — “Giribrajapur” was situated on a tract of level land of about 17 square miles in area, which was surrounded on all sides by 5 high and inaccessible hills. King Jarásandha was ruling from his capital here (then known as कुशाग्रपुर) at the time of the Mahábhárata, and history does not record any event showing that this capital was ever destroyed by an enemy power. Continuance of peaceful reign from generation to generation produced among the royalty a religious bent of mind, so that we find King Bimbisara of Giribrajapur receiving religious instruction not only from Lord Buddha, but also from the Jaina Tirthankar, Parshwanath, — while he was a staunch follower of Bráhmaṇya Dharma at the same time. It is King Bimbisara who for the all-round improvement of his Kingdom imported a large number of Vaidik Brahmans from Ambastha in the Punjab. From Hardy's Manual of Buddhism (Page 288), it appears that the place in Magadha where these imported Brahmans were settled bore the name of Ambasuth after the name of the country from which they came, and even the near-by hill came to be called as the “Vedi” hill after their name. There is at-present a pargana called “Kotamba” in Gya-Patna which perhaps owes its name to this settlement. It is just probable that the Vishnu Mandir of Gya was founded about this time, for

we find that the names of the ancestors of the Gayali Brahmins, (who are worshipped as Tirthagurus by millions of Hindus of all castes coming from every quarter of India) ended in some cases with the suffix of Sena and Gupta, which, it has already been stated, formed the name-suffixes of the Vaidik Brahmins. From page 15 of Hardy's Legends and Theories of Buddhism, it would appear that during the life time of Lord Buddha, a question arose as regards the relative superiority of caste between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, and the Third Sutra records a conversation between Lord Buddha on one side, and the mouthpiece of the orthodox Brahmins on the other. Now this mouthpiece who must have been the wisest and most learned of them all was an Ambastha Brahman,—a fact which proves that by the time of Lord Buddha's death, the Ambastha Brahmins became the friend, philosopher and guide of the people.

2. It is with the help of these Vaidik Brahmins that Bimbisara conquered a part of the Kingdom of Káshi, and also Anga or Eastern Magadh which necessitated the formation of a new administration for the riverine areas from Champá to the mouth of the sea *i.e.* comprising the present Bhagalpur and Burdwan Divisions. It is reasonable to assume that King Bimbisara afterwards rewarded the trusted generals by making them his Sámanta Rajas, and as some of them were adepts in the control of river traffic in their home provinces, he must have appointed them to administrative posts in the Admiralty Department and stationed them in various parts from Champá to the Sea. This explains the foundation of the great Bhumipal (or Bhumihaar) Raj Houses on either side of the Ganges in Magadh, and the Maurya Gupta family in Pippaliban on the north of the Ganges, and also accounts for the presence of the Ambastha Brahmins in Lower Bengal.

CHAPTER III

TRANSFER OF CAPITAL TO PATALIPUTRA AND RISE OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

Ajātshatru, the son of Bimbisara, was a great warrior and it is true that by warlike activities he extended the limits of his Kingdom considerably, but people charged him with the guilt of an unpardonable crime. He was accused of having killed his father. His courtiers stopped attending his court at Giribrajapur for they would not tread on that unholy soil. Ajātshatru built a new capital, named Rajgriha, outside the hill enclosure, and there too, the distinguished courtiers did not put in their appearance. So Udayi, the successor of Ajātshatru started constructing a capital at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone at Pataliputra, and pending completion of the construction of the new capital conducted the state affairs from Champagnagar which had been conquered by his grandfather. The Haryanka Vansha, to which dynasty king Bimbisara belonged, became weakened through want of sympathy and co-operation of the Samanta Chiefs, and we find that the Sudra Nandas occupied the Magadha throne in the beginning of the 4th century before Christ. The first king of this dynasty—Maha Padma Nanda—was a cruel man. He swept away all the Kshatriyas round about Magadha and declared himself as Emperor of the Gangetic valley. His successors were no better, and therefore it became necessary to devise means to rid the country of their clutches. That responsibility was assumed by Chandra Gupta Maurya, the King of Pippaliban on the north of the Ganges, whose ancestor was brought from the Punjab by Bimbisara and subsequently made a feudatory Chief under him. With the wise counsel of Vishnu Gupta

(otherwise known as Chanakya or Kautilya, a Brahman of Taxila), Chandra Gupta completely defeated Dhana Nanda, the last of the Nandas, although the Nanda Prince was the master of 20,000 horse, 2 lakhs of foot soldiers, two thousand chariots, and 4000 elephants.

2. Not only did Mauryya Chandra Gupta make an end of the Nanda dynasty, but he delivered India from the thralldom of the Greeks by defeating the invincible army of Alexander the Great. When Seleucas attempted to invade India from Syria, his attempt was foiled through the heroism of Chandra Gupta. As the result of his success in these warfares, parts of Afganistan and Baluchistan came into his possession. Mysore and Saurashtra were included in his empire, chiefly due to the superiority of his naval strength which was vast. His vast land forces were also equally strong and efficient. To this empire was added Deccan by Bindusar, Chandra Gupta's son, and Kalinga was annexed later by Bindusar's son, Ashoka the Great. We have therefore good reasons to assume that for the proper administration of his empire — both in the Civil and the Military Departments, either Chandra Gupta or Bindusar or both of them did at the suggestion of Chanakya, import many capable Ambastha Brahmans and settled them with honours and dignity in Anga, Banga and Kalinga, etc.

3. History records that Raj-Rishi Chandra Gupta abdicated the throne in favour of his son, and passed the last days of his life in far away Mysore in the compay of his Jaina preceptor Bhadrabahu and his numerous other disciples, -- an event which undoubtedly explains the existence of numerous Jains on the west coast, and the profession of Jaina faith of the early Kadambas. Devanam Priya, Priyadashi, Ashoka was like an autumnal full moon in the fine spotless firmament of this noble family. He

imbibed *Buddha's* Báni in his heart of hearts, and that Bani flowed in his every vein, and was given out to the world with his every breath. It is he who brought the kingdom of peace in this world. It is to be lamented that the Puránkars have given a libellous story about the origin of this family, while the fact is that long before the Puránkars took up their pen, it was recorded in the contemporary Bhuddhistic literature that the ancestors of the Mauryas were Kshatriyas of Pippaliban. I am inclined to think that the word "Kshatriya" was used by the Buddhist writer, as a synonym of "Rájanya" (as was usually the practice at the time) and that an ancestor of this family had been brought by King Bimbisar from the Punjab, and subsequently settled as a feudatory Raja of Pippaliban. In the Punjab Sirmur State, there still exists* a tribe under the name "Meoras" who perform priestly functions and correspond to the well-known "Upādhyáyas". Perhaps "Meoras" and "Mauryas" are one and the same name.

4. To the Hindus, Lord •Buddha was an incarnation of Náráyana and therefore they were bound to listen to his sermons with due reverence and respect. When therefore the members of the Royal family were influenced by the New Dispensation, the people naturally flocked to the new faith. But as it was not at all obligatory on the people to change their faith, it is clear that there were many who still clung to their ancestral religion. There was no clash among the people, but perfect amity and good will existed between the votaries of the different faiths.

* Rose's Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and Frontier Province, published by the Government of the Punjab, Vol. III p. 86.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATION OF KOT BRAHMANS FROM THE PUNJAB.

The Maurya Guptas having contracted matrimonial alliances with the Greeks, alienated the sympathy of the orthodox Brahmans and that is perhaps why they painted the history of their origin in black colours in the Puráns. When the last rulers of this dynasty became weak, General Pushyamitra, who was a Brahman, put to death King Brihardratha and himself ascended the throne. The dynasty founded by him is known in history as Shunga or Baumbik dynasty which ruled in Magadh from 187 B.C. to 75 A.D. The last ruler, Debabhuti or Debabhumi was killed by his Minister by name Vasudeo who founded the Kanva dynasty, but the Kanvas did not rule more than 45 years, and their dominion was also limited within the confines of Magadh. Realising the unsatisfactory political condition of Magadh about this time, which was steadily worsening owing to the repeated attacks of the Chets from Kalinga, the Greeks invaded India once again. They proceeded as far as Oudh and Chitore, took Madhyamika near Chitore and were advancing on Pataliputra when they were met, defeated and driven away. But the Greeks remained a sore in the side of the Punjab for about 200 years. Greek Kings Antiochus and Demetrius started their rule in many parts of the Punjab and Sindh, while Menander established a Kingdom at Sealkot. The only course now left open to the orthodox Brahmans still tenaciously clinging to the **आचार** and **क्रियाकर्म** according to the Shastras was to leave their ancestral home and migrate to a safe distance. It has already been stated before that the country round about Sialkot (then known as the Kot country)

was the dwelling place of the worshippers of Karkot Nagas. They migrated in two batches, the later emigrants settled in Malava; the emigrants of the first batch had settled to the east of Malava (then known as Vidisha, now called Marwar). Both the parties coming from the "Kot" country are known in history as "Satbahanas"*, but as the Vidisha Satbahans reached Southern India subsequent to the other Satbahans (the Satkarni Satbahans) had established their influence there, the Vidishas (or Nagas and Bakataks) came to be known there as "Chhota Satbahans", "Bhritya Satbahans" "Andhra Satbahans" etc., — Chhota meaning "minor" or "small" or "subordinate". History of India is aglow in letters of gold with their glorious achievements. I shall discuss here in short the achievements of these two branches of the Kots.† Let us take up the later immigrants, the Malava Satbahans ‡, first.

* This term evidently applied to those powers who used seven modes of transport *viz.* हस्ती (elephant), अश्व (horse), उष्ट्र (camel) वृष (oxen), रथ (wheels ear), नौका (boat) and नरदोला (palanquin).

† As the Kots proved to be more than a match for their adversaries in numerous cases, they were sometimes called by the reversed name of "Toks" or "Tokkas", so that in common parlance, the expression "Tekka mārā" has come to mean,—'the undertaking of a measure which is calculated to defeat the designs of the enemy'.

CHAPTER V.

(SÁTKARNI) SÁTBAHAN DYNASTY.

One of the early kings of the Kots who settled in West Malva after leaving their original home in the Punjab on the invasion of the Sakas was (Shimuk. His son the First Sátkarni was a great warrior and performed the Ashwamedha Yajna, but after his death, the Sakas conquered some parts of his territories, and posted their own officers at Cutch, Mathura, Ojein, and Taxila for the conduct of the civil administration. Gautamiputra Sátkarni not only reconquered the lost territories, but extended the area of his dominion, so that it stretched from Malva in the north to Canara in the south. His son Pulumayi established his Capital at Pratishthan or Paithan or Adhishtan on the bank of the Godavari. The kings of this dynasty guarded the sea-coast on the west with capital at Baijāyanti in Banabasi Province. The dynasty attained its greatest glory in about 150 A.D., and its influence lasted for about 105 years. Sátkarni was a terror to the Chets of Kalinga. From the Junagarh inscriptions, it is gathered that this dynasty lost its power when the Hindu inhabitants of Katthiwar elected Rudradaman as their king in 250 A.D.

2. These Sátkarnis imported many "Kaundinya" (Kunda?) Brahmans from the north, from among whom a Kaundinya Brahman was sent to Champa in Indo-China and founded the "Kaundinya" Rajya there. It may be stated here that another Kaundinya Brahman was sent to Champa subsequently by Emperor Samudra Gupta to reform the Hindu Society there.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OTHER SATBAHANS.

A.—THE NAGA DYNASTY

(BRAHMAN-GOTRA KARPATI).

After leaving their original home in the Kot country, the Nagas settled first in Eastern Malwa or Bidisha (now known as Marwar). That is why they are described in the Puranas as Bidisha Nagas or Baidishik. They were also called Brisha Nagas because their royal flag and throne bore the mark of a Brisha, the Báhana of Mahadeva. As they migrated from the Kot country, the place where they first settled was named "Kota", and their capital which was situated near present Jaipur was called "Karkot Nagar".* Ruins displaying Naga style of architecture still exist there. From B. C. 110 to B. C. 31, five kings of this dynasty ruled from Karkot Nagar (of whom the name of the first was Sheshu Nag); but thereafter the capital was transferred to Padmavati, from where 8 kings of this dynasty with the name affixes of Nandi and Datta ruled upto 78 A. D., the name of the last king being Shiva Nandi or Shiva Data. Padmavati was afterwards occupied by the Shakas, but before that, the Nagas had retreated into the wilderness of the C. P. founding capital at "Nagpur Nandivardhan" and "Purika" (Hoshangabad). The Saka rule ended after the death of the Kushan Emperor Basudeo in 176 A. D. Some time before that say from 140 A. D. the Naga Rajas assumed the dynastic names of "Bharshiva" Naga (and "Naba Naga") indicating that they were the people who were prepared to shoulder the burden of Shiva to rid the mother country of the oppressive Shakas. From Nagpur they first came

*Vide Professor Jaiswal's History of Ancient India.

to "Kantipuri" near Vindhyaçal (now in ruins) and performed Aswamadha Yanjnas for 10 times at Benares. Then under the leadership of the Great Hero Bir Sen proceeded westwards and reconquered Padmavati, extending their dominion over Mathura and even Indore.

2. Reconciling the readings in coins, inscriptions, copper plates and the dedicatory records in the Ajanta Cave with the writings in the Puranas, the periods of reign of the Nabanagas have been approximately fixed by Prof. Jaiswal as in the table below:—

A.—At the Central Government at Kantipuri.

1. Naba Naga	... 140—170 A. D.
2. Bir Sen	... 170—210
3. Hoy Nag	... 210—245
4. Troy Nag	... 245—250
5. Barhina Nag	... 250—260*
6. Charaj Nag	... 260—290
7. Bhaba Nag	... 290—315

Control of the Central Government at first lay in the hands of the Bharshibas, but on the strength of matrimonial alliance that power passed on to the Bakataks in 260 A. D.

B. Royal dynasties administering local Governments under the Central Government:—

1. Kot dynasty at Padmavati (Malwa). (also known as Tokvansa—vide Bháva Shatak.)	1. Bir Sen	170—210 A.D.
	2. Bhim Nag	210—230
	3. Skanda Nag	230—250
	4. Brihaspati Nag	250—270
	5. Vyaghra Nag	270—290 *
	6. Dev Nag	290—310
	7. Ganapati Nag	310—344
2. "Bharshiva" dynasty at Kantipuri (Near Bindhyachal).	1. Bir Sen	170—210
	2. Hoy Nag	210—245
	3. Troy Nag	245—250
	4. Barhin Nag	250—260 *
	5. Charaj Nag	260—290
	6. Bhaba Nag	290—315

*Control of Central Government passed on to the Bakatáks in 260 A. D.

3. "Yadu" or "Yadava" dynasty at Mathura.	1. Bir Sen	170—210
	∴ ∴ ∴	
	Kirti Sen	315—340
	Nag Sen	340—344
4. "Yadav" dynasty at Ahichhatra.	1. Bir Sen	170—210
	∴ ∴ ∴	
	Achyut Nandi	324—344
5. "Antarvedi" dynasty at Indrapur.	1. Matil	328—344
6. "Antarvedi" dynasty at Champavati.	?	
7. Srughna dynasty at ?	1. Nag Dutt	328—344
	2. Maheshwar Dutt	344—368

3. In about 170 A. D. a very great hero named Bir Sen came into prominence in this dynasty. It is he who laid foundation to the revival of Hinduism in Mathura for which his descendants came to be known as belonging to the (Uttar) "Yaduvamsa". Coins bearing his name were struck at the Mathura and Ahichhatra mints and circulated broadcast, and these coins have been found in abundance in these areas. The form of Government adopted by the Nagas was based on the democratic lines. Their court language was "Prākṛita", but they introduced the "Nāgri" alphabets. They performed Ashwamedha Yanjna at Kashidham for ten times, and they impressed on the people that on the protection of the cow lay their chief virtue. As beef formed the chief item of food of the Kushons in their daily dishes, the Nagas won the full sympathy of the general body of the people in extirpating them from the country.

4. The Nagas in their retreat lived for more than a century in the south of the Vindhya, and in the course of this period, the language, customs, and culture of the

people residing in the Nagpur and Hoshangabad divisions became assimilated with those prevailing in the north of the Vindhya, *viz.*, the Bundelkhand division, and since then Hindi became the spoken language of the people of this part. In about 250 A. D. Ajanta came under the dominion of the Nagas, and by "Ajanta Art" we mean the art of the Nagas and their successors, the Vakatakas

5. In a subsequent chapter we shall find that the kings of this dynasty became feudatory to the Imperial Guptas, and Chandra Gupta II or the Great Vikramaditya married a Princess of this Royal dynasty,—Mahadevi Kuber Naga.

6. Ages of oppression and enforced allround degradation caused by continuous Mlechchha Governments, have affected the position of the descendants of the Nagas in society. Some of them have perforce changed faith *e. g.*, there are many Musalmans in Bulandshaher district whose ancestors are stated to have been Nagar Brahmins. There are many Jat families in Ahichhatra (Jullunder district) called Nagara Jats who have taken to cultivation of the land as their chief means of livelihood.

B.—THE DAZZLING SENS OF THE SOUTH

OR

THE VAKATAKA SATBÁHANS.

(A BRANCH OF THE NAGA DYNASTY)

BRAHMANS OF BHARADWAJ GOTRA.

An army general of the Nágas — a Bráhmaṇ of Bharadwaj Gotra who through his valorous achievements acquired the appellation of the Vindhya Shakti, was the founder of this dynasty. The names of all the kings of this dynasty end with the affix “Sen”. There is a village named “Bhakat” in the valley of the Kilkile river in Tehrauli Tehsil of Orchha State in Central India, the inhabitants of which are called “Bhagawar Brahmans”. Apparently the name “Bakatak” has been derived from the name of the village “Bakat”. From the dedicatory inscription in Cave No. XVI of Ajanta, it is seen that Vindhyashakti was an army general of the “Kilkile Vrishas” and throughout his life was a staunch orthodox and निष्ठावान् Bráhmaṇ. Consequently the statement in the Vishnu Purana that he was a Yavana is not correct. Possibly some one altered the original text by mistake at the time of revision. That the Vakatakas were Bráhmans is also borne out by the fact that king Prabara Sen of this dynasty not only performed Ashwamedha Yajna but performed the Brihas-pati Yajna as well, which is open to the Bráhmans only and not to any other caste. In the Nasik Prasasti of Gautamiputra of the Satbáhana family, the king is called “Eka Bráhmaṇa” i. e., *the Unique Brahmana*, a destroyer of pride and conceit of Kshatriyas, and also “the Unique Bráhmaṇa in powers equal to (Parasu) Rám”. *Vide* Rai Chowdhuri's Political History of India (Calcutta University publication) 3rd edition, p. 230—231.

2. The capital of Vindhyashakti's kingdom was Chanak (or Kánchanika), perhaps the place which is now known as Gajnachna. But the Vakataks had also an ancestral state in Navakhanda or Navagarh which was in Koshala near the present Bastar State.

3. The Vakatak dominion extended from the western part of Baghal Khand (in Ajoygarh and Panna States) over the whole of present Central Province and Berar and as the Trikuta division of North Konkan was included in this empire, it will be seen that they held their sway over all the people who speak the Mahratta tongue. The Ajanta Ghat range which one has to cross in going over to the Deccan was also within this empire. To this was added the whole of the Nága empire acquired by the Vakatakas by right of inheritance.

4. This vast empire was governed with the help of many feudatory chiefs and governors of the Royal Blood, *e. g.* —

(A) Under the Government of Mahishmati on the banks of the Narmada, there were:—

1. The republics of Malwa, Arjunayan, Yaudheya, and Madrak, administered by a local government in Malwa (or Abantya).
- and 2. The republic of Abhiras in the part of the country stretching from Surat to Gujrat and south Malwa. (King Ishwar Sen formed this republic after driving out the Sakas).

(B) Under the Government of Mekal administered by Princes of the Royal Blood:—

According to the Bhagabat and Vishnupurana, there were seven princes in this province who were called Andhras by them and who ruled—

1. The country from the south of the Maikal range through the Baster state upto Koshala including all the feudatory states in Orissa and Kalinga.
2. Eastern and Southern Baghelkhand (Rewa).
3. Sirguja State.
4. Present Balaghat district in the Central Province.
5. Present Chanda district in the Central Province.

(C) Under the Government of Koshala :—

There were 7 small autonomous administrations of which the governors were probably the descendants of the Chets of Orissa and Kalinga. They used to add the word "Megha" as their surname. Those among them who were the scions of the Kharbela family used to affix the word "महामेघा" to their names.

(D) Under Governments administered by relatives through marriage :—

1. Naishadh (Berar) with capital at Bidar. The ruling dynasty of Bidar came to power after the fall of the Satkarnis and Chuta Manabyas. They fell again after the conquest of Samudra Gupta.

2. Baidurya (Present Satpura).

(E) Under the government of Singhapura. in Jullandhar (The Yadava dynasty) :—

This dynasty was founded after the migration of the Yadavas from Mathura or Sursena, and 12 generations succeeded to the throne. The Singhapura Yadavas, the Takkas, and the Mathura Yadavas all belonged to the same stock, viz., the Bharshiva Nagas. They were all Saivites. This Kingdom extended northwards to the Himalayas upto the Sivalik range in the Gupta times.

(F) Under the Central Government of the West Coast, at Baijayanti :—

The direct descendants of the Royal family (who were called Haritiputras Chuta Andhras) ruled in 3 administrative units.

1. Aparanta or the part known as Kanheri.
2. Banabasi (or Canara or Karnat).
3. Malavalli (or Mysore).

5. The following genealogical table of this dazzling family has been prepared on the basis of the conclusions arrived at by the late lamented Prof. Jayswal after careful examination of the relative Purans, Inscriptions, Copperplates, Coins, and dedicatory remarks in the Ajanta Guha.

Genealogical table of the Dazzling Sen family of the South. (otherwise known as the Vakatak family)

Vindhya Shakti (Bharadwaj Gotra; a Kot Brahman)
(248-284 A. D.)

Prabar Sen
or Emperor Prabir Sen
(284-344)

(This emperor crushed the Shaka power everywhere in India except a few places in the Punjab).

Bir Kurcha
"Pallav"
(See P. 27)

Gautamiputra
=daughter of Nag Raja

2nd son*

3rd son*

4th son*

(*) Names not known but probably they were feudatory chiefs.

Rudra Sen I
(344-348)

Being the daughter's son of Bharshiya Nag Emperor, he succeeded to that Empire and ruled from Purika under the guardianship of the paternal grand father Prabir Sen. On the death of the latter, he succeeded to the throne at Chanok also. Rudra Sen was defeated by Samudra Gupta in the battle at Allahabad or Kausambi in which three Nag Generals—Achyut Nandi, Nag Sen, and Ganapati Nag were killed; and after that battle the Guptas became the overlords of these Vakataks.

Prithwish Sen
(348-375)

A contemporary of Samudra Gupta and
Chandra Gupta II.

Rudra Sen II
(375-395)
=Princess Prabhavati Gupta
daughter of Chandra Gupta II
& Mahadevi Kuber Naga

Being a daughter's daughter of the Nag Raja, Maharani Prabhavati successfully composed the differences between the Vakatakas and the Gupta families. The Guptas also gave such privileges and concessions to the Vakatakas as were not granted by them to other Samanta Rajas.

Dibakar Sen
(died in 405 A.D. at the
age of 13, while under
the regency of Queen
mother)

Damodar Sen
or Prabar Sen
(405-415 as minor
415-435 as major)

a contemporary of
Emperor Kumar
Gupta.

Narendra Sen
(435-470)
=daughter of Kakustha
Varma, King of Kun-
tala (name Ajijhita Devi)

Ascended the throne
at the age of 8.

In about 455, the Pushyamitras, Patumitras and Padmamitras of Mandhata in western Malwa revolted. The Traikutas of Aparanta or north Konkan also raised a rebellion. But Narendra Sen was successful in quelling them. The Imperial House of the Guptas having become weak, the Bakataks began to exercise Imperial powers now :—

- (a) All over Berar and Maratha country
- (b) From Konkan to Kuntal
- (c) Western Malwa
- (d) Gujrat
- (e) Koshala
- (f) Makal and Andhra.

Prithwi Sen III
(470-485)

The Huns invaded India but Vakataka Empire could not be disturbed. The Maitrakas started a new ruling dynasty as feudatory to the Vakatakas.

Dev Sen
(485-490)

Abdicated of his own accord.

Hari Sen
(490-520)

Nothing is known about this family after this king.

6. The Vakatakas became thoroughly independent after the death of Skanda Gupta, and although there was confusion and trouble in the midst of the political upheavals prevailing on every side, they could retain their power in tact.

No Saka Rulers could stay on in Kathiwar and Gujrat. Only a few remained in Sindh and Cutch.

7. The history of this family was lost after Pulkeshin I (a grandson of Jai Singha Malla, a revenue officer of King Hari Sena) stepped into the shoes of the Bakatakas, assumed imperial dignity, and performed Ashwamedha in about 550 A.D. Perhaps he acquired the empire as a matrimonial dowry. There is nothing on record to suggest on what other grounds, the kingdom

passed on to the hands of the Chalukyas. A brief outline of the history of the Chalukyas will be found at the end of this Chapter under Section F.

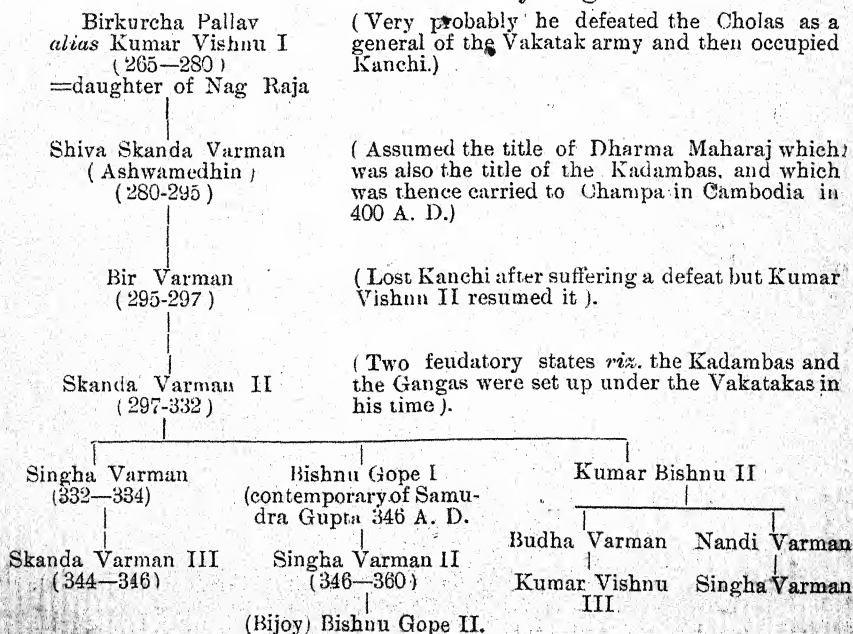
C.—PALLAVA DYNASTY OF KANCHIPURI

(A TWIG OF THE BAKATAKAS.)

It has already been stated that the founder of the Vakatak family (Vindhysakti) had two sons, *viz.*, (1) Prabar (or Prabir) and (2) Bir Kurcha who married the daughter of the Naga Raja and got Andhradesha as dowry assuming the surname of "Pallav". The heraldic marks of the Pallavas were:—

Ganges, Jumna, Makar, and Brisha.

They had never any warfare with the Bakatakas. It is they who propagated the Shaiva cult widely in Southern India. Kanchi then in occupation of the Anarya Cholas was converted into a second Kashi by them. The genealogy of Prabar's descendants has already been stated. That of Birkurcha or of the "Pallav" family is given below:—



It is necessary to add a short note about the two new feudatory states created under the Bakatakas in the South India *viz.*, (1) the Kadambas and (2) the Gangás.

D.—THE KADAMBAS

The Kadamba Chiefs ruled at Banabasi in north Canara and elsewhere from the early centuries of the Christian era and were Jains by religion. Their overlords were the Satkarni Satbahans who had gathered together the remnants of the Mauryya Empire in the south and formed a capital at Baijayanti. On the fall of that Satbahan family together with the Kadambas (who were called Chhuta Manabyas) the Chuta (or Andhra) Satbahan family or Bakataks succeeded, and it is from them that their branch, the Pallavas, took over the reign of the country. From the Pallavas, Mayur Sharma acquired the country during the confusion and chaos that followed in the wake of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and founded the Kadamba dynasty.

The Talgunda Inscriptions show that Mayur Sharma was born in a learned Brahman family and that he together with his guru went to Kanchi to prosecute his study of the Vedas. But he trained himself in warlike exercises also, and then entered into the services of the Pallavas, gradually working his way upto the rank of a general in the army. As the Pallavas had confiscated certain property enjoyed by respectable Kundinya Brahman families from the time of the Satkarni Satbahans, Mayur Sharma was seeking an opportunity to redress that grievance. When therefore confusion prevailed in the country after the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta, Mayur Sharma established himself as an independent ruler and founded the Kadamba dynasty, Mayur Sharma's son Kanga or Kana or Kanak

on ascension to the throne started using the name affix "Varma" instead of "Sharma" as in his opinion it was more honorific. The Kadambas were very powerful and a terror to the Pallavas. When the Pallavas were defeated by Samudra Gupta, Kanga would not in the first instance take the oath of allegiance to him. But being defeated by Prithwish Sen, he abdicated and thereafter the Kadambas ruled as feudatories under the Bakatakas.

During the reign of the third King of this dynasty Poet Laureate Kalidas visited the Kadamba court as an ambassador of the Great Vikramaditya, and the result of his stay in that court was that King Kakustha Varma's daughter, Lady Ajjhita Devi was married to Prince Narendra Nath Sen, grandson of Princess Prabhavati Gupta of the Imperial Gupta Family.

E.—THE GANGA DYNASTY OR THE KANVYAYANS.

The Gangas were an off-shoot of the Imperial Kanvyans of Magadh, the last king of whom was removed from the Magadh Throne by the Nagas (or Satbahans) to the South as a general in the Satbahans Army. Like the "Magadh dynasty" of the Kalinga Kings, they adopted the dynastic name "Ganga Vansa". They were Subordinate to the Pallavas and the kings were installed in each generation by the Pallavas.

GENEALOGY PRIOR TO SAMUDRA GUPTA'S ADVENT.

Title ... Dharma-maharaj

1. Kankan Varman (300-315 A.D.)
2. Madhav Varman (315-330) Deeply learned.
3. Ayya or Ari Varman (330-345).
4. Madhava Varman II (Singha Varma) (345-375).
5. Avinita Kankani (375-395.)

F.—THE CHALUKYAS

The Chalukyas were the successors of the Bakatakas or the Sens of the South in the 6th Century apparently by right of inheritance, and were in power in the Deccan and Konkan upto 1155 A. D., with the exception of about 220 years (750 to 973 A.D.) when they had to yield the power of suzerainty to the Rashtrakutas, and were kept confined within the four corners of the Kadamba country. A northern offshoot of the family ruled at Navsari, while a junior line reigned at Vengi in the Kistna delta. After King Taila's resumption of the central power by defeating the Rashtrakutas in 973 a new Chalukya Kingdom was set up with capital at Kalyan; and Barappa, a follower of Taila, also founded a subordinate Chalukya Dynasty in Southern Gujrat. Their power declined after the rise of their rival—the Hoysala Ballals of Halebid in Mysore in about 1120 who practically destroyed the power of the Chalukyas in 1192. Up to 1155 however they wielded the supreme power in the South, having defeated the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan in 973 A. D. During the reign of Chalukya King Jai Singha, the Chalukya army under the command of the feudatory Raja Kaviraj—Raj Kesari Chatta Deva made an advance on Dhar, completely routed the (Parmar) Malava troops in 1018 A.D. The Chalukya army then defeated the powerful Traikutakas in the south of Gujrat. Beyond the kingdom of the Traikutakas in the north east was the territory of the mighty Kokalla Deva at Tripuri in the present district of Jabbalpur (known in history as Chedi raj) whose power struck terror to other kings,—who conquered Koshala and the Telegu country, who helped Pratihara Raj Bhoj Raj the Second to get to the Kanauj throne,—who gave his daughter in marriage to

King Krishna the second of the Rashtrakuta family,—and who was a friend, philosopher and guide of Harsha Deva, the Chandel King of Chitrakuta. After his death his son and successor, taking advantage of the chaos and confusion caused to the (Gaur) Pal Empire by the repeated invasions of the Chandels, Gurjars, and the Kambojas in the North, and the invasion of Rajendra Chola in the South, attacked and occupied Mithila. A man of great piety, he was respected by all in Mithila, and he earned the epithets of Gangeya Deva (Lord of the Gangetic Valley) and Gauradhwaja (the banner of Gaur). But his son Karna Deva, though a great hero, created many enemies by his overbearing nature. He had occupied a part of Bhágalpur (South Magadh) on the other side of the Ganges and overawed Dakshina Sámanta Chakra [*vide* item (b) in the appendix to Chapter XXVIII]. When therefore Raja Karna made further incursions into the interior of the Pal Empire, the Sur King of Apar-mandar (who was as usual the Commander-in-chief of the Pal Emperor— *vide* Chaps. XXVII and XXVIII) invited the Chalukya King to attack Karna Deva in the rear. We know that like the Bakatakas the Chalukyas were also a faithful ally of the Imperial Guptas (*e.g.* the Chalukyas fought on the side of Raja Shashanka against Harshavardhan and defeated Harsha in the 7th century), and this friendly tie subsisted as long as the Guptas held the Imperial power. Even after the Imperial Power passed into the hands of the Pals, the later Chalukyas were on good terms with the House of Apar-mandar or the Salbahan Kings of Dakshin Bharh who were the lineal descendants of the Imperial Guptas.

Moreover as from the Copper plates of the Sen Kings of Bengal it appears that in the ancient days, Bengal was peopled by Brahmans who were called

“Chattas*” and “Bhattas*” it is to be inferred that in their new home in Karnat also the Bengali Brahmans went by the names of Chattas and Bhattas and the most respected of them were addressed as “Chatta Devas” and “Bhatta Devas”. The feudatory King “Chatta Deva” referred to above who was the Army General of the Chalukya King was thus a descendant of a Bengal Brahman, settled in Karnat. In 1012 he was ruling the Banabasi 12,000 and the Santaliga 1000. From Moræ’s History of “The Kadamba Kula”, it is gathered that when the safety of the newly founded Chalukya Empire was endangered by the Chola encroachments on its Southern frontier in 1018, Chatta Deva distinguished himself in the war against the Cholas. Already enjoying the title of “Kaviraj Raj Kesari”, he is praised in the Inscriptions for his valorous acts and in one of them he is described as “obtainer of boons from Chamunda”. We have already seen in an early chapter of this book that from the very early Buddhistic period the terms “Vaidya” and “Kavi Raj” were applied to physician Brahmans only. It is therefore safe to conclude that Chatta Deva belonged to a Vaidya Brahman family of Bengal, and was perhaps a blood relative of the Sur Rajas of Apar-
mandar.

When therefore after marching northwards across the Godavari and routing the Malava troops of Paramar king Bhoja in 1018, Chatta Deva took his stand with the Chalukya Army between the Godavari and the Narmada so as to prevent the Gurjars and Parmars from making an incursion into the Southern territories,

* Compare the lines in the plates of the Sen Kings of Bengal in which they are stated to have “चट्ट भट्ट जातीयान् जानपदान् ब्रह्मणान् मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च” ।

(for which act he was granted the title of "Guardian of the High Land"), and when thus situated he received a request from the Sur king of Apar-mandar to attack the Chedi king, Karna Deva, in the rear in North Bengal, he readily accepted it. The Chalukyas easily took the Chedi capital at Tripuri in the absence of king Karna and then marching on to Mithila from the Jabbalpur side invaded it during the reign of Nayapal. King Karna suffered a defeat, fighting simultaneously with the Chalukyas in the rear and with the Imperial Pals and their feudatories—the Sur of Apar-mandar and king Jatavarma of Vikrampur in front. Karna had to give away his daughter Yaubanasri in marriage to Nayapal's son, the 3rd Bigraha Pal, — and another daughter named Birasri to Jatavarma— and as a result of this battle Karna Deva retreated into the forest areas of Choparan* on the other side of the Ganges, near about present Hazaribag and Gaya, (where his son Yashaskarna had to suffer defeat in a battle with Bheemyashas, the samanta king of Pithi in present Bhagalpur, district). After this second defeat Karna Deva evidently retreated into his ancestral territory in Tripuri, for we find him afterwards ousting Trilochan Pal, Gurjar King of Kanauj, from his throne and himself and his son Yashaskarna occupying the same in succession for some time — after which Chandra Dev Gurhwal of the Sôma Vamsa appears to have stepped into the Kanauj throne. As the Traikutakas, Chedis (or Kalchuris), and the Chand Rajas of Kanauj belonged to the same race, viz. Sôma Vamsa being perhaps later off-shoots of the Imperial Guptas of Ujjain it is to be inferred that Chandra Dev had blood relationship with Yashaskarna.

*Historians have located this battle-field in district Champaran of North Behar. But it is in the fitness of things that this should be in South Behar.

As there were matrimonial alliances between the Chedis (Kalchuris) and the Rashtrakutas, both the races were on friendly terms. It appears that their combined forces often made raids into the South in which they were sometimes successful and sometimes not. It is in the course of these successful raids that we find that the Kalchuris ruled in North Bijapur and Dharwar towards the end of the 12th century.

After the defeat of king Karna in about 1040, a branch of the Chalukyas settled in Mithila as Samanta Rajas under the Imperial Páls. Having come originally from the Malabar Coast, they were locally known as "Nayyars" or "Newars", and the place where they first settled was called by the local people as "Pur" (settlement) (of) "Nayyars" which explains the origin of the present name of district Purnia. The new comers however seem to have named the place as "Dwar Banga", meaning "door to Bengal", as the name "Banga" was familiarly known in their home province of Malabar, (*vide* chapter on the "Intercourse with the South") while the Imperial Páls used to call the place as "द्वारोपवर्द्धन" meaning a rising kingdom at the nearby gate. As the area was washed by the river Koshi, the newly founded kingdom also came to be called as Kamshambi. After Bijoy Sen (the Karnatic Sen king of Rurh) had defeated and driven away the Imperial Páls, he automatically became the overlord of the Karnatic Singha Raja of Mithila but in consideration of the fact that his grandfather Samanta Sen was a feudatory chief under the Chalukyas in Karnat, he sent up his fleet to Mithila and desired the then ruling Chalukya King, Nanya Deva, to cede the administration of Mithila to him and found a kingdom in the hills in the North for himself. This was carried out. Mithila passed into the hands of Bijoy Sen. Nanya Deva retreated into the

hills, grasped the ruling power in Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu, established a colony there of his soldiers, consolidated the country under the name "Nepal" and founded the line of Karnat or "Newar" kings of Nepal which was also known as Shimrun dynasty. As both the families came from Karnat, there was a cultural affinity between the two, and Bijoy Sen married his son Bullal Sen to Princess Rama Devi of the Chalukya family. Prince Lakshman Sen born out of this wedlock, was held as much in affection in Mithila as in Bengal. Under the auspices of the Chalukya Kings there was a great revival of Sanskrit learning in Mithila and Vaishnava Cult flourished, of which the chief exponent was Vidya-pati, the great pioneer poet in bháshá of Mithila as well as Bengal.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BAKATAKAS

The Vakatakas or Sens of the south themselves were not Buddhists, but they gave their subjects full liberty of conscience to follow Buddhism. Ajanta Caves Nos. XVI and XVII, were dedicated by these Sens. Some of the most famous Ajanta paintings *e. g.* those relating to (1) Buddha's return to his father's place (2) the scene between Yashodhara-Rahula and the King of Ascetics, and (3) the Ceylon Battle are to be found there. They demonstrate how deeply the events in Buddha's life touched them, although they had not abandoned their ancestral faith. The Vakataka territory was the meeting ground of the North and the South.

2. The faith of the Vakatakas as well as of their branch, the Pallavas — was strict Saivism but Rudra Sen under the influence of his wife Mahadevi Prabhavati Gupta, a daughter of Vikramaditya the Great (the most devout Vaishnava of the day, to whom is due the revival of Vaishnavism at Mathura) embraced the Vaishnava faith and thus became a vehicle for the propagation of Vaishnava cult in the south.

3. In the matter of architecture and painting, the Vakatak art, though pre-eminently of the Aryavarata Nagra variety, occasionally introduced the Pallava motifs which were essentially a characteristic of the south.

4. A great literary movement was started for the cultivation of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit became the court language and the vehicle of correspondence among the gentle folk. The drama "Kaumudi Mahotsava" was

written at the court of a feudatory chief of the Vakatakas in about 340 A.D. by a lady poet at practically one sitting and it shows that Sanskrit Kavya writing was as facile to her as to Kali Das.

5. There was a great revival of Varnashrama Dharma at this period. The Bharshiva Nagas had made Ganga and Jamuna free. It was left to King Prabara Sen to push the Kushons out of India to Kabul. His object was the creation of a Hindu Empire for the whole of India, and he did become a Universal Indian Emperor. So that when Samudra Gupta came, he had the satisfaction of uniting the whole of India between his two arms.

6. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, this was rendered possible by the Hinduisation of the non-Hindu tribes; by the breaking up of the barriers between caste and caste, and class and class, with the introduction of completely national festivities and ceremonies, and sports; by advocating the principle of plain living and high thinking; and by the harbouring of perfect goodwill for men professing a different faith. It is a well known historical fact that the Satbahans patronised the great Buddhist saint Nagarjun. While the kings of the Sri Parbatiya family were orthodox Hindus, several royal ladies were most ardent Buddhists. To the Vakataka and Pallava, Shiva is Mahadeva, the Lord of lords. He has no want, and His bhakta, who is but his limb has also no want. He has to give and not to ask for anything. He is a Swami (Lord of himself) having no want. All devotees to Shiva are his friends; all the three worlds are his home.

In the shade of the Vakataka tree therefore rested the bull of the Brahmanya Dharma, care free and serene, as if repeating within himself the words

“ बान्धवा शिवभक्ताश्च स्वदेशो भुवनत्रयं ”

7. Let us now resume our consideration of the Political history of Northern India and the principal events, that occurred in the Imperial court at Pataliputra after we left it at the stage when Minister Basudeo (the Kanva) took possession of the throne after the death of the last king of the Shunga dynasty.

CHAPTER VIII

NAGAS OCCUPATION OF THE MAGADH THRONE AND THEIR RETREAT INTO THE HILL FORESTS OF PANCHKOTE.

The Kanvas did not rule more than 45 years in Magadh, and from the number of Satbahān coins found in the excavations at Bihta (Allahabad), there is enough proof to hold that the Kanvas were followed immediately by the Satbahāns (*viz.* Bharsiva Nagas of Padmavati) in the Imperial throne at Pataliputrā. But they could hardly live more than 50 years there in safety in view of the advance of Vanasphera, Viceroy of Kaniska, to Magadh in about 90 to 120 A.D., and the appearance of Kadiphisēs, and Wema Kadiphisēs in Northern India.

2. In about this time, Vanasphera was Kanishka's Governor (चक्रप) in the province of Benares and Vinvaspati was the Viceroy (महचक्रप). The descendants of Vanasphera — subsequently known as Vanasphars of Bundel Khund — retained military reputation down to the Chandel times, and a dialect called Bonapheri — is still in vogue in Bundel Khund. Vinvasphati established himself at Padmavati and up to Magadh. He was very brave and powerful and looked like a eunuch *i.e.* had a Hun like Mongolian appearance. He made the population practically Brahminless, abolished Kshatriyas, and created a new ruling caste, or official class out of the Kaivartas, and out of the Panchakas, a policy which was followed by the later Kushans. As a political motive he depressed high class Hindus, and raised low class men to high positions, which the Hindus took to be a policy of social tyranny and religious fanaticism. Feeling that the Brahmanic system of society imposed upon them an ignominious status, the Kushans tried their best to

destroy that social system, and for administrative purposes, they imported Sakas, Pulindas, and other mlechchas from Bundel Khund to Magadh. In Kashmir, the country wide Puja of the Nagas was stopped and Buddhism was imposed on the people, because by that religion only the Sakas could claim equality with the old orthodox society. Some of the remarks about these mlechchas made in the Purans are quoted below :—

In Vishnu Puran—“कैवर्त्त यदु पुलिन्दाब्राह्मणान् राज्ये स्थापयिष्यति
उत्साद्याखिल क्षत्रजाति”

„ Bhagavata — करिष्यति अपरान् वर्णान् पुलिन्दयदुमद्रकान् ।
प्रजाश्चाब्राह्मभूयिष्ठाः स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ॥

„ Vayu Puran— उतसाद्य पार्थिवान् सर्वान् सोऽन्यान् वर्णान् करिष्यति ।
कैवर्त्तान् पञ्चकाञ्चैव पुलिन्दान् अब्राह्मणांस्तथा ॥

3. It is well known that orthodox architecture and orthodox iconography had already been established facts before the earliest Buddhistic monumental structures were erected, but in respect of the period of the Kushan Rule, monumental evidences relating to *Buddhism and Jainism* alone are available. The conclusion is that they were destroyed by the Kushans. Referring to the year 78 A.D. Alberuni said: “The Sakas tyrannised over the country between the river Sindhu and the Ocean after they had made Aryavarta their home in the midst of their realm. He interdicted the Hindus from representing themselves as Hindus.” In Garga Sanhita, it is written “The Shaka Raja was greedy, very powerful and sinful. The terrible Sakas made the people lose their character and degraded in their acts.” In the 1st century A. D. Gunadhyaya said, “These mlechchas slew Brahmins, interfered with their sacrifices and other sacred ceremonies. They carried off the daughters of the hermits. — Kathāsarit Sagar BK

XVIII." Sraddhas and other rites were suspended and people worshipped bone-relics instead of their gods. According to the Garga Sanhita, the Sakas carried away one-fourth of the total population from the Sipra to their own capital *i. e.* Bactria. Moreover cow, which is treated as the second mother, and held in divine veneration, by the Hindus was slain by them and her flesh formed part of their food in the daily dishes.

4. Before the onrush of such cruel hordes, the Nagas (or Kots) had already retreated from Padmavati into the wildernesses of the Central Provinces, settling themselves at Nagpur and Purika. It was but politic therefore on the part of the Nagas (or Kots) at Pataliputra to follow the same course. Thus they retreated into the hill forests of Bengal (now known as Sounthal Parganas) and settled themselves first in five units (perhaps, Shikharbhumi, Mallabhumi, Dhalabhumi and Birbhumi) with a central Government at Panchakote or Pachet,—authorising the Samanta Lichhabhi Raja on the other side of the Ganges to remain in charge of the affairs of the Imperial house during their absence. And with them also retreated into the river-girt areas of Lower Bengal, a large number of orthodox Vaidik Brahmins in order to preserve their dharma and Kriya Karma in safety. In Panchkote they placed themselves in communication with their parent stock—the Nagas of Nagpur through the trunk roads, then existing in the forest areas. As the suggestion that the Chhota Nagas retreated into Panchakota after leaving the management of the affairs of the Imperial House in the hands of the Lichhavis is a new one, it is necessary for me to explain the reasons for my coming to this conclusion.

(1). The remains* which lie scattered all over

* Vide Gazatteers of Birbhum, Manbhum, Singbhum and Bankura and Midnapur districts.

Manbhum and in parts of the adjoining districts are numerous and extensive and clearly point to an advanced standard of civilisation prevailing in the area in the remote past. They indicate that there must have been roads :

(a) From Tamluk to Patna via Ghatal Vishnupur, Chatna (in Bankura), Raghunathpur, Telkupi, Jharia, Rajauli (Gya) and Rajgir.

(b) From Tamluk direct to Benares through Pakbira, Budhpur, and important places on the Kasai river, and Dalmi, Safaran and Suisa on the Subarnarekha, running westward on through Ranchi and Palamau.

(c) From Dalmi to Palgunj crossing the Ajodhya range and passing through Boram on the Kasai river.

(2) At or near all these places as well as others on the route there are ruins; but the most extensive ruins are found —

(a) near the Damodar crossing at Telkupi in Manbhum;

(b) near the Barakar crossing at Palgunj in Manbhum;

(c) on the Kasai river near Manbazar in Manbhum; and

(d) at Benusagar in Singhbhum where ruins of at least 10 temples and some pieces of sculpture of very superior production in the seventh century have been discovered. In the matter of extraction of ores from copper mines in Singhbhum, there is ample evidence to show that the ancients had carefully searched the country and had considerable mining skill. According to legends, the diggings were made under the orders of a Nāg Potentate. Dalmi in Manbhum would certainly appear to have been a very considerable town. The actual ruins have for a long time been in a very dilapidated condition. One brick temple remains and it is also much dilapidated,—

but for some miles, almost every eminence is marked by debris of temples and other buildings. Only a few of the statues described by earlier observers are to be found in situ. Mr. Beglar has identified some of the ruins as Jain or Buddhistic, but all the remainder are according to him, Brahmanical. The most notable of the extant statues is a colossal Ganesha, but there are various statues of Vishnu, Lakshmi, Durga Mayi, and the monster Mahisasur. Tradition has it that this is the place on the Damodar where Vikramaditya used to perform puja after bathing; and Telkupi on the Damodar was the place where he used to rub his body with oil preparatory to the bath. There is an inscribed statue of Aditya also which does not seem to have yet been deciphered.

The present reigning family of Patkum, six miles from Dalmi, claims descent from Vikramaditya the Great but Colonel Dalton has doubted the correctness of it without assigning any substantial reason.

- (e) From a village named Pabanapur in Pargana Barabhum, where there are extensive ruins of temples and other buildings, the ruins extend into the neighbouring village of Bhular; and tradition connects the ruins here also with Raja Vikramaditya. The carving on the fragments that remain is described as highly artistic.

A few miles north west of Dalmi is Safaran which Mr. Beglar identified with "Kirana Sufalana" of Huen Tsang, the capital of Shashanka Raja. At Safaran itself there are uninvestigated mounds.

- (f) South of Katras about 8 miles off, on both banks of the Damodar river, there are a large number of ruined temples, which are mostly Saivic ones.

(3) The principal hereditary Raja ruling over a part of this area is the Raja of Panchkut. It is a hilly place situated in the head quarters sub-division of Manbhum district, half way between Raghunathpur and the junction of the Barakar and Damodar rivers and very well fortified. The hill defended the fort on the north, but there were four sets of artificially built walls, all of earth, each defended by deep and wide moats which were so connected with the streams descending the sides of the hill, as to keep them always wet, and to this day they always contain some water; in most places the walls, or earthen ramparts, were so ingeniously led as to form continuations of natural spurs of the hill itself, thus securing the maximum of defensive power with minimum of labour in throwing them up. There were numerous gates in the walls. The fort is very large, the outermost ramparts having a total length of more than five miles, while the outermost defences, viz., the ridge lines round the fort encloses a space of about 12 square miles, exclusive of the hill itself. (Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Volume VIII.)

There are various legends regarding the origin and establishment of this family, — according to one of which the first Maharaja was made king through election by five Rajas, and his fort was therefore called Pancha Kot. He was also known as the Gaumukhi Raj. According to the zamindar's genealogical tree, the first Maharaja of Panchkot was Damodar Sekhar Singh Deo, described as 12th Maharaja of Ujjain, about 80 A. D., from whom the present zamindar is the 67th in direct line of descent, the succession having been, according to the tree, direct from father to son, except on two occasions when grandsons succeeded.

(4) Destruction of Hindu temples is ordinarily ascribed to Mahamadans, but so far as this part of the country is concerned, there is no trace, not even in tradition, of any invasion from them. As observed by Mr. Beglar, the contrast between the profusion of remains scattered broadcast in the fertile and densely peopled plains of Magadha, and these isolated remains in the wilder districts is too great to be explained away by any amount of imaginary dilapidations and destructions. Nor can the occurrence of ruins among the wilds of Chuta Nagpur be due only to the cities having sprung up at points along a great road owing to the whole district having been in a flourishing condition. As the Brahmanical civilisation was confined to particular centres, and the Brahmans were a peaceable race living on the best of terms with the Bhumiya Bhumji, the theory of the extermination of the civilisation by a sudden rising of the Kolarian races has no substantial ground to stand on,

5. I have already stated that in my view the rearing up of the buildings and temples in the midst of the wilds of Bengal inhabited by aboriginal races living primitive lives, is due to the hurried retreat, into this part of the Nag emperor of Magadh before the onrush of the Kushan hordes from the North West in the latter part of the first century A. D. The Nags (who as worshippers of Karkat Nag were called either as such or by the simple expression "Kot", and who also used the surname "Sena", "Singha" or "Verma" as occasion demanded) had settled in this part for about 5 generations (from 80 A. D. to about 240 A. D. approximately) before they succeeded in driving the Kushans out of India with the help of the Nags, and Bakataks of the Central India, the Sens of Mathura, and the Guptas of Ambastha in the Punjab. As the Nagas of the Central Provinces as

well as Bengal belonged to the same stock and had attained the same standard of culture, no variation is noticeable in the degree of civilisation prevailing in the two parts, which was practically contemporaneous. This view

(a) proves that Ptolemy was correct in stating that apart from the aboriginals, another group of people, called Kakkonegai, dwelt in this tract,

(b) explains why the territory was called Chota Nagpur,

(c) that the family tradition of the Panchkot family that their ancestor migrated from Ujjaini in 80 A. D. is correct. (N. B.—The Nags came to Magadh from Malwa, overthrew the Kanvas, and occupied the Magadh throne but ruled there only for a shortwhile when the Kushan invasion took place. The fact of retreat of the ancestor is therefore not divulged.)

(d) accounts for the existence of the word “Kot” in the name of the family.

6. As a result of the Victory in the Kushan war a scion of the family was made the king of Magadh by the Imperial Nagas of Nagpur Nandi Vardhan under the name “Sundar Varma”, but he was killed in battle and the throne was occupied by Chandra Gupta. After Chandra Gupta had reigned for some time, the Council of Ministry at Magadh seized the opportunity of his absence from the head quarters and notified to him that he was not wanted back at Pataliputra and that in his place, Sundar Varma's son, Kalyan Varma had been installed by them on the Magadh throne. There was thus another war

between Samudra Gupta (Chandra Gupta's son) and Kalyan Varma, then reigning king of Magadh. In this war Kalyan was defeated and captured, and in Samudra Gupta's victory pillar at Allahabad, a reference has been made to this victory in which Kalyan has been described as Kot Kulaja. The historians have so far been at their wit's end to realise the import of this description; but that difficulty disappears in my view of the case.

7. As Vikramaditya the Great was the son of Samudra Gupta, it establishes correctness of the tradition so strongly current about the connection of Vikramaditya with Tatakun and Dalmi in Manbhum and also in Pargana Barabhum. The Guptas apparently wanted to keep the area in their direct control owing to the strategic importance of its situation, on the Trunk road from Tamluk to Patna.

8. Another evidence in support of the above view is traceable from the existence of Saivic temples in Shikharbhum (pertaining to the Nag family) and of the Vaishnavite temples e. g. temples of Vishnu and Lakshmi in Dalmi. As the Nags were Saivas, it is evident that Dalmi passed into the hands of the Imperial Guptas who were out and out Vaishnavas.

9. That the Lichchhavis ruled at Pataliputra during the interreregnum caused by the retreat of the Kots (Nagas) to Panchkote is evident from the fact that in one of the records of Jayadeva I, Lichchhavi King of Nepal (330-355 A. D.) it has been mentioned that one of his ancestors, named Supushpa Lichchhavi was born in the Pushpapur Palace at Pataliputra in the First century A. D. The drama Kaumudi Mahotsava also mentions that the Lichchhavis had ruled at Pataliputra for about a century before Magadh passed on to the "Kot" dynasty (in 200-250 A. D.)

10. My suggestion that the Chhota Nagas lived in exile in Panchkota after abandoning the Magadh throne is also supported by the extensive ruins of colossal buildings, temples, monasteries, statues and forts which still lie scattered in Birbhum, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and even Orissa.

CHAPTER IX

INTRODUCTION OF SHAKTIPUJA IN BENGAL.

The position of the Kots (Nagas) in exile in the forests of the C. P. and Bengal was the same as that of the Devas when they were driven out of Swarga by the Asuras. Mlechchha Rajas had firmly established themselves in Kashmir (the land of paradise) and Sindh, while the greater part of the Punjab was groaning under their ruthless repression.

स्वर्गान्निराकृताः देवाः तेन देवगणा भुवि ।

विचरन्ति यथा मर्त्याः महिषेण दुरात्मना ॥

We may well imagine that like the Devas of old, they took counsel among themselves and appealed to the one object of their worship — Shiva — who bestows all Shivam and at the same time destroys all Ashivam. In the war between the gods and the demons, Mahadeva is stated to have sought the help of his consort the Adyáshakti — for the exercise of the latter function “हन्यन्ताम् असुरान् शत्रूं मम प्रीत्याहचण्डिकां” They therefore started the Puja of आद्याशक्ति as well. In the Shastras, she is described as Singhabahini *i. e.* seated on a Singha (lion) which is an emblem of perfection in physical force. Each of them therefore wanted to be a Singha or a Kesari (which is a synonymous term for Singha) and adopted that mode of name-suffix in lieu of Nandi or Naga which their ancestors used indicative of a “वाहन” or “भूषण” of Mahadeva. Their next object was to mobilise the physical force of every man in the country irrespective of caste and colour. The bulk of the people dwelling in this part of the country consisted of the

lower strata *e. g.*, Bugdis, Bowris, Dulias, Haris, Domes, Mals and Muchis. The Koibarta and Gopa castes were still unabsorbed in Hinduism. The principal object of the Naga princes, then known as Singhas and Kesaris therefore was to mould them all into one virile nation. Non-Hindu festivals of the different animistic tribes were semi-Hinduised* whilst to their own regular Hindu festivals, various aboriginal forms and ceremonies were tacked on. The Bhakta or hook-swinging festival which is celebrated on the last few days of the Bengal year for the worship of Shiva, in which male members of the above classes freely join on absolutely equal terms, as Sannyasi devotees to Him, and receive the respect of all Hindus, high and low, was started by them. This festival is still most popular with the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal castes not only in Bengal but even in Chotta Nagpur. Yátrás, Sankirtans and Kathakatás were provided from time to time in which all without any exception could participate. Numerous religious and semi-religious festivals were also introduced and they followed one another at frequent intervals throughout the year constituting the chief amusement of the people and also leading to their gradual and imperceptible absorption in Hindu Society. The process was so successful that it is well known that a Bagdi family rose to be a ruling Vaishnava family later on in this part and the reputation for the piety of the ruling prince was so great that he was exempted from personal attendance at the Nawab's court on any occasion. In addition to the measures taken for the spiritual uplift of the people, pastimes were provided in the form of the now-known-all over-the-world Bratachari dance, Rai Bense lathi play, and the Sarki play; while archery was developed to such

* Vide Gazetters of Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, Manbhum and Howrah Districts.

a pitch that there were seldom any failures to hit the mark and a Sounthal could very easily fell a tiger with a bullet, let go from his bow.

2. *Pari passu* with this, adequate measures were taken for the economic amelioration of the people. We must remember that the Nagas lived in exile for several generations before they met the Kushons in open warfare. The main stock at Nagpur and the branch in Panchkote acted jointly in collaboration in every matter of importance. They were in an age when the great chemist — Nagarjun (who discovered and worked the gold mines at Balaghat and Mysore) was in the height of his fame. They worked the mineral ores of Chhota-Nagpur. Western scientists have wondered how and with what facility they could blast the ores in an age when blasting by gunpowder was not known. Yet they did this as is evidenced by the pillars still standing here and there amidst the ruins showing that the ores had been extracted between them. Construction of new roads, huge buildings, sky kissing temples, vast sangharams, colossal statues, rock cut caves was undertaken so that all men were kept employed, and the wealth produced from the mines was fairly distributed among the people. There was no want, no discontent in the land.

3. One of the principal administrative acts of the Nagas (Satbahans) was the annexation of Orissa as the Kharvelas or Chets did not prove to be good neighbours.

CHAPTER X

ANNEXATION OF ORISSA BY THE NAGAS (SINGHAS AND KESARIS) AND WAR WITH THE KUSHONS.

In the olden days, Odras and Utkals were two different tribes.* The former dwelt in the eastern part contiguous to Radh and the latter in the western part connected with the Mekalas round about Amarkantak. In course of time the Utkals became absorbed in the larger tribe of Odras.

Orissa formed part of Kalinga before the conquest of Ashoka and extended according to the Mahabharata from the Gangasagar Sangam to as far south as the promontory of Coringa at the mouth of the Godabari. In 261 B. C. Ashoka conquered the tract and from his Rock Edict No. XIII, we know that "it was then an extensive, populous, and fairly civilized kingdom". Diamond of a special kind was quarried and exported; and cloth was manufactured and exported in such qualities and quantities that Kalinga became the word for cloth in old Tamil. Frequent sea-voyages were made to countries outside India, so that Indians generally came to be known as Klings in the Malay Peninsula".

2. Maurya Rule lasted for about 80 years till 170 B. C. There was an influx of officials, traders and pilgrims. The Jainas honeycombed the Udaygiri and the Khandagiri with caves bearing inscriptions in Brahmi character of the Mauryan age.

3. With the foundation of the Sunga Dynasty in Magadh, Kalinga became independent under Kharbella who

* Vide Gazetteers of Balasore, Puri and Cuttack District.

invaded the Sungas on many occasions. The great Buddhist Saint Nagarjuna appears to have converted Manja, King of Orissa to Buddhism with one thousand of his other disciples and Buddhism became the prevailing religion of Orissa, and Orissa became the head quarters of Buddhism in India, but the Chets continued to make depredations on the Magadha empire every now and then. In the second century A. D. the Satbahans (the Nagas) overshadowed and absorbed Kalinga, bottling up the Chets within Koshala. The administration of the territory upto the Mahanandi Valley was taken over by one of the Naga families under the surname "Kesari". In his work "Ram Charita", Sandhya Kar Nandi has used the expression "Bhababhushan" as an adjective to the Kesari rulers of Orissa, and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri has interpreted it to mean "pertaining to Naga dynasty", as "nagas" are the "bhushan" of "Bhava" which is another name of Mahadeva.

4. As the Nagas and Bakatakas were tolerant in the matter of religious faith, there was no compulsion on their part to force the people to change their faith. On the contrary, in the 3rd century the King of Kalinga sent the celebrated tooth relic to Maha Sena, King of Ceylon. In the 8th century Buddhist scriptures were presented to the Emperor of China. Steps were also at the same time taken by the Guptas for the revival of the Brahmanical faith by importing a large number of Vaidik Brahmans who were fit to perform Vedic rites. In the seventh century Huen Tsang found Buddhism flourishing side by side with Hinduism. It will thus be seen that during Kesari regime, the two faiths flourished equally in Orissa till they coalesced in Jagannath.

5. The Naga and Bakatak art is writ large in the number and magnificence of the architectural and

structural remains at Bhubaneshwar and elsewhere. The wonderful Buddhistic ruins on the Nilgiri, Ratnagiri and Udaigiri hills including the rock-cut well and the colossal rockcut statue of Buddha on the Udaigiri hill testify that the men who could conceive, design and execute such stupendous undertakings were not less mighty and less resourceful than the Nagas and the Bakatakas. Actually from an inscription in Nagri near the last step leading to the rockcut well on the Udaigiri, it is evident that the works were done under orders of a Naga prince. The Madala or palm leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannath attribute the construction of most of these temples to the Kesari dynasty, and I have already stated above that the Kesaris belonged to the Naga vamsa.

6. At the same time they were constantly invoking the blessings of the Almighty Mother for the delivery of Aryavarta from the clutches of the mlechchhas. They perceived that owing to the extreme propagation of Jaina and Buddhist cults, there was an overdose of सत्त्वगुण in Society which did not make for its stability, and to counteract that effect, therefore, they arranged to raise the “रजोगुण” of the people by sacrificing goats and sheep before Her. Sometimes they would worship the Almighty Mother in the shape of Kali—terrible in mien to destroy the forces of evil. Sometimes they would worship Her in the form of Durga on the point of killing the chief demon Mahishasur (which was perhaps the nickname given by them to the leader of the Kushans). At last they were assured that they had received the boon, and, firm on that assurance, all the Kots in exile—the Cnhota Nagas of Bengal, and the Bara Nagas and Bakataks of Central India,—the Sens of Mathura and the Guptas of Ambastha in the far west in full co-operation

delivered attacks on the Kushons and in this they were completely successful. The Marshal General of the combined forces was Vindhyashakti, the Commander-in-chief of the Vakatakas, whose descendants, ultimately founded the Pallav dynasty of rulers at (Conjeverum or) Kanchipuram. The Pallavas were the great propagators of Shiva cult in the South but apparently being convinced that their great ancestor (the Su-Brahman) was invested with the spirit of Deva Sena in this warfare, they worship Kártikeya also as a special feature.

7. Bengal to this day worships Mother Durga as a national festival. She invokes Her every year from Her hasbadd's home in the Himalayas, reproduces her in glorious image, treats her with all the affection due to a beloved daughter come to the father's place after a long time and at the same time worships her with all the devotion due to one who is the giver of all good and destroyer of all evil.

8. Enough has been said to show that the accumulated sáadhaná and culture of Bengal lies buried in the ruins of Manbhum and Singhbhum. To call a tract Bengal, after stripping it of Singhbhum and Manbhum is to play Hamlet with the omission of the part allotted to the Prince of Denmark. But this has been done by the transfer of these two districts to Behar. Bengal suffers this with silence. It would be wise if she could be appeased in this respect.

CHAPTER XI

DIVISION OF TERRITORIES IN NORTHERN INDIA BETWEEN THE VICTORIOUS PARTIES AFTER THE KUSHAN WAR.

The responsibility of assuming the bhār (burden) of Shiva in the matter of destruction of the demons and the release of Aryavarta from their control was taken over by the Nagas and that is why in the Purans they have been described as *Bharsiva Nagas*. They successfully discharged that responsibility. It would appear that the Bengal Nagas delivered the attack from the front and dislodged the seat of the military governor of the Kushans in Magadh and Benares after Kanishka's death in 150 A.D., and almost simultaneously the Bara Nagas from Central India harassed them at the flank with the result that the Kushan power was shattered in Mathura also. Almost all the coins of the last two Kushan Kings (Haviska and Vasiska or Vasudeo) exhibited on their reverse the figure of Siva attended by his bull Nandi. Several images pertaining to the period with their characteristic snakehood have been found in the district and the inference is irresistible that the Nagas became the dominant power in Mathura about this time, and the successors of Kaniska also reverted to the devotion of Siva who was the presiding God of the Nagas. After this result was achieved, it appears that King Vir Sena of the Naga family, with the help of Maharaja Gupta of Ambastha in the Punjab threw the Kushans still further back as far as Sirhind, and it is evident that by 240 A.D. Northern India upto the confines of the Punjab, was freed from the Mlechchha rule. This is amply borne out by the discovery of Vir Sena coins all over U.P. and parts of the Punjab. This achievement was rendered possible because Buddhism had

become a denationalized system and assumed a non-Hindu character by its contact with the Kushans, who treated it more as a political instrument than a spiritual creed. The Bharasivas were severely ascetic. They had no grandeur, and have left no memorial behind them. It was customary with them to bestow and not to partake. So after the victory was won, the Bharsiva Nagas who unquestionably now became the emperor of India,

- (a) gave the Magadha throne to Sundar Singh, [apparently the representative of the Bengal (Panchakote) Nagas] and
 - (b) Gave the tract of land from Anu-Ganga (Prayag) to Ajodhya—Sakat as a fief to Maharaja Gupta.
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CHAPTER XII

CORONATION OF SUNDAR VARMA AS KING OF MAGADH — HIS DEATH AND USURPA- TION OF THE MAGADH THRONE BY CHANDRA GUPTA.

THE LATTER'S EXPULSION — AND CORONATION OF SUNDAR'S SON, KALYAN VARMA.

As the Lichchhavis occupied Pataliputra as a temporary measure under a mandate of the Satbahans (Nagas) before the arrival of the Kushans, and as their occupation of the throne continued with the sufferance of the Kushans and as a subordinate Raja to them, they now receded to the other side of the Ganges on the advent of the Kot (the Naga) prince of Bengal. The Kot prince Sunder Singh was crowned king of Magadha with his name suffix altered from "Singha" to "Varma" clearly expressing his dutiful obligation to stand by the Imperial throne in times of trouble. But the duration of the Kot rule was very short as we find that the throne of the Kot king was occupied by Chandra Gupta I in about 275 A. D. Let us see how this came about,

2. King Sundar Varma adopted, as his son, Chandra Gupta, a descendant of Maharaja Gupta, who used to live partly in his ancestral home in Ambastha (Punjab) and partly at Pataliputra at his adoptive father's court. His pre-coronation name was Chandra Sena and he was crowned king of Ambastha and assumed the name of Chandra Gupta after coronation (coins issued under this name bearing his figure and that of his wife, have been found in the locality), but he continued to attend at his adoptive father's court at Pataliputra from time to time clearly to be in touch with that court as he expected

to succeed to the Magadh throne on the death of Sunder Varma who was then an old man. But a son was born to Sundar Varma in his old age, and it was explained to Chandra Gupta that he had lost his right of inheritance. Disappointed of his expectation, he married the daughter of the Lichchhabhi King and with the aid of his father-in-law's large army besieged Patliputra. A battle was fought in which the old king Sunder Varma died. The young prince Kalyan Varma was secretly carried away to the Kiskindhya hills by the faithful ministers. Chandra Gupta occupied the Magadha throne and founded the Gupta dynasty.

3. There was a stir in the Hindu world against Chandra Gupta at the time as people took his action as tantamount to parricide. Under the Hindu Law, a king whose hands are marked with the blood of his parents can be destroyed. The Council of Ministers at Pataliputra therefore decided to get rid of Chandra Gupta as a king. They planned a plot during the absence of Chandra Gupta to quell a rebellion of his subjects in the "Anu-Ganga Prayag — Ayodhya" tract, called in Prince Kalyan Varma from the Vakataka territory (Pampasara) and crowned him at Pataliputra and sent a note to Chandra Gupta that he was not to return to Pataliputra, which was Kalyan Varma's capital and in the year of his coronation Kalyan Varma was married to the daughter of Kirti Sen, King of Mathura. It is recorded that on the occasion of this marriage, King Kirti Sen of Mathura came with his daughter to Pataliputra to celebrate the marriage, — a custom which was prevalent among Brahmans only, showing that both the royal houses at Mathura and Pataliputra were Brahmans.

CHAPTER XIII

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CHANDRA GUPTA IN THE SANSKRIT DRAMA, KAUMUDI MAHOTSAVA.*

The resentment of the Hindu society against the conduct of Chandra Gupta found expression in a Sanskrit drama composed by a lady poet at the court of a chief, feudatory to the Vakatakas, apparently in compliance with the wishes of the chief at one sitting, on the auspicious occasion of Kalyan Varma's marriage. In this she has taken his precoronation name as *Chanda Sen*, apparently referring to his cruel nature. Her charges against him are:—

- (a) That he married the daughter of Lichehavi
- (b) That he is a Karaskar.
- (c) That he is a parricide.

Let us examine these charges separately

2. With regard to (a) we have to observe that as it is a historical fact that the Lichehavis were Kshatriyas, and as the poetess could not have any objection to this marriage if Chandra Gupta were a Kshatriya, the principal point in her objection is that as a Brahman he should not have married a Kshatriya girl or in other words she would ban an *Anulome* marriage. But this view is not in conformity with the shastric injunctions. According to Manu, marriage in the प्रतिलोम order (*i. e.* where the girl belongs to higher वर्ण and the boy belongs to the lower वर्ण) is not permissible because “प्रतिलोम्येतु यज्जन्म सत्तेयो वर्णमंकरः” and,

* Vide Quarterly Journal of Andhra Research Society Vols. II and III

marriage in the “अनुलोम” order is permissible because “अनुलोभ्येन वर्णानां यज्जन्म स विधिस्मृतः” and this has been taken to mean that to be a “विधिजात पुत्र” the offspring should have been born of parents married according to the rules prescribed in the shastras. Now between what वर्णाऽ in the अनुलोम order a shastric marriage is permissible? The shastras say:—

“तिस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य, द्वे भार्ये क्षत्रियस्य च वैश्य स्वजात्यां विन्देत ”

i.e. (a) A Brahmin can marry

3 wives viz.

1. A daughter of a Brahmin.

2. A daughter of a Kshatriya.

3. A daughter of a Vaishya.

(b) A Kshatriya can marry

2 wives viz.

4. A daughter of a Kshatriya

5. A daughter of a Vaisya.

(c) A Vaisya can have one wife

6. A daughter of a Vaisya.

3. One may ask “Granting that shastric marriage is permissible in the above cases, will all the offsprings be ‘द्विज’?” In answer to this, Manu in Sloka 41 of Chapter 10 says:—

“स्वजातिजा” (offsprings of Nos. 1, 4, and 6 in the above list) “अनन्तरजा” (offsprings of Nos. 2, 3, and 5 in the above list) “वट् सुताः” (viz. all the six kinds of offsprings) द्विज धम्मिनः (fall under the द्विज category).

4. The next question that may arise is this:—
“As there are 3 varnas only among the Dwijatis

ब्राह्मणोक्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः” how will the above six Dwija offsprings be classified according to varna ? To this the shastras say “तार्वपत्यं समं पितुः” i. e. the offsprings born of all these mothers will be equal to their father in the matter of varna. One may ask “why equal to their father inspite of the fact that the mother came out of a lower varna ?” For the removal of such doubt Manu says —

स्त्रीध्वनन्तर जातासु द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान् ।

सदृशान् एव तान् आहुः मातृ दोष विगर्हितान् ॥ Ch: 10, Sl: 6.*
(in wives No. 2, 3, and 5 in the above list),
“द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान्” (offsprings begotten by Dwijas)
“तान् एव सदृशान्” are equal to their fathers [mark the word तान् in masculine gender] आहुः (it is so said by the Rishis), मातृ दोष विगर्हितान् (because the गर्हा or stigma due to मातृदोष viz. mother having come out of a lower varna,) वि i. e. becomes “विगतः” or passes away after the Shastric marriage. And what is the authority for it ? In answer to this it is said:—

“पाणि ग्रहणिका मंत्राः पितु गोत्रापहारकाः ।

पतिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या स्तस्या पिण्डोदकक्रिया” ॥

The force of the mantras uttered on the occasion of a marriage is such that it removes the father's gotra from the bride, and she attains the gotra of her husband for all purposes, i. e. she merges completely in her husband.

5. But can this view be reconciled with Sloka 14 of Chapter 10 where Manu Maharaj says:—

पुत्रा येऽ नन्तरस्त्रीजाः क्रमेणोक्ता द्विजन्मनाम् ।

ताननन्तरनाम्नस्तु मातृदोषात्प्रचक्षते ॥ १०।१४

* For foot-note please see page 64

To consider this question, we have to bear in mind that offsprings of Dwijatis have been grouped by Manu under three classes, *viz.*—

(A) “विधिजात” or lawful offspring of the males of higher वर्ण married to females of the lower वर्ण

(B) “अवैध” unlawful offsprings of the males of higher वर्ण from females of the lower वर्ण (i.e. born चौर्यतः *vide* Nandan’s commentary on Sloke No. 10 of Chapter 10). These offsprings are known as अपसदः i.e. being unaware who their progenitors are, they cannot offer पिण्ड to them.

(C) अवैध unlawful offsprings of the males of lower वर्ण from females of higher वर्ण (who are known as “अपध्वंसजा”)

6. Sloka 6 governs the offsprings of class (A), and rules that after the performance of a shastric marriage between a higher वर्ण male and a lower वर्ण female (i.e. in the Anuloma order), the disability attached to the female on account of her lower rank disappears and the offspring acquires the वर्ण and जाति of its father. Sloka 14 governs the case of offsprings falling under class (B). Here the disability of the female does not disappear i.e. “मातृदोष” exists,—and therefore the offsprings become “अनन्तरनामा” i.e. take the जाति and संस्कार of the mother.* It will thus be seen that there is no anomaly between the two Slokas.

7. Looked at from this point of view, Chandra Gupta did nothing wrong in marrying the daughter of a Lichchhabī. Indeed it appears that this point of view

* Under the current Law of domicile, an illegitimate son acquires the domicile of his mother.

was considered thoroughly satisfactory by the Naga Rajas, the Brahmans of the highest order of the day, as we shall find subsequently that Mahadevi Kuber Naga (a princess of the Imperial Naga family) was married to the grandson of Chandra Gupta who became Chandra Gupta II or Vikramaditya the Great.

8. Sundar Varma, King of Magadh, was also a Brahman as his son Kalyan Varma, married the daughter of Kirti Sen, King of Mathura (who also belonged to Naga Vansa and who true to the custom peculiar to Brahmans brought his daughter from Mathura to Pataliputra for the solemnisation of the marriage. As Sundar Varma adopted Chandra Sen as a son and would have bequeathed the kingdom to him but for the birth of a son subsequently, and as the latter would then be bound

* Foot Note 1.

By a queer reasoning some pundit in the 15th century took Sloka 6, Chapter 10 to mean wives Nos. 2 and 5 only, which is quite contrary to the interpretation of अनन्तर given above. There is no reason why the first interpretation should at all be departed from.

An attempt was made to cover this inconsistency (a) by altering the second line of Sloka No. 9 of Chapter 10 (which should originally have indicated the caste-name of the offspring born in wedlock of a Brahman father and Kshatriya mother as *Muradhuvisikta*) into

“द्वेकान्तरासु जातानां धर्मं विद्यादिमं विधिं”

and (b) by rewriting Sloka No. 9 which originally read like:—

क्षत्रियात् वैश्य कन्यायां माहिष्य जातिरुच्यते ।

क्षत्रात् शूद्र कन्यायां उग्रोनाम प्रजायते ॥

into

its Present form

क्षत्रियाच्छूद्रकन्यायाम् क्रूराचारो विहारवान् ।

क्षत्रशूद्र वपुर्जन्तु रुग्रो नाम प्रजायते ॥ Chap. 6, Sl: 9

But the omission of the two important castes underlined above in the present text of the Manu is too striking. It points to the deliberate mutilation of the original text in order to introduce the order of “एकान्तर” and “द्व्यन्तर” which was propounded by the person who

to perform his sraddha and tarpan, it is also clear that Chandra Gupta could not but be a Brahman.

All doubts as regards the caste of Chandra Gupta should therefore cease.

9. As regards the expression "Karaskar" applied to Chandra Gupta by the Poetess, the exact import is not understood. In the opinion of the late Mr. Jaiswal, the Karaskars were a subdivision of the Punjab people who were brought to Magadha by the Kushans for administrative purposes. For their overbearing nature, and also for their failure to adapt themselves to the traditional ways of living of the Magadhians, they became so unpopular, that people in common conversation would use the word to indicate an outlandish person. One cannot but

edited the book (perhaps in the 15th century). Also sloka No. 9 as it is at present worded does not display that liberality of mind which is appropriate in Sage Manu.

Foot Note: 2

Although not strictly relevant to the questions under consideration, it is as well to discuss here about the status and वृत्ति of प्रतिलोमज Off-springs of Dwijas referred to in Class (b) above. These offsprings are *ipso facto* अपध्वंसजा i. e. lose the Varna and caste of both father and mother and stand low in society. They pursue निन्दित Vritti like the "Apasada" offsprings and other "Apadhwangsaja" offsprings. But being born of a dwija father their status is somewhat better than the status of प्रतिलोमज offsprings born of a Sudra father. In Sloka 41 of Chapter 10, Manu has described what "निन्दित" Vritti of a special nature should be taken up by the द्विज प्रतिलोम offsprings, so as to differentiate them from Sudra प्रतिलोमज offsprings:—

Now Dwija Pratilomaja offsprings are 3 in number viz.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| (1) Those born of a Vaisya father and Kshatriya | |
| mother | Known as. वैदेह |
| (2) Do. — do. of a Vaisya father and Brahman | |
| mother | मागध |
| (3) Do. — do. of a Kshatriya father and Brahman | |
| mother | सूत |

Manu's injunction in the above Sloka is that of the 3 Dwija Pratilomaja offsprings (viz. वैदेह, मागध, and सूत)

No. 1 Should guard the interior of the Palace

observe the clumsy Punjab military dress on Chandra Gupta's coins since discovered. This was perhaps disgusting to the fashionable gentry attending the court at Pataliputra. So we pass over this charge also. As for the 3rd charge, it is really a grave one and perhaps it cannot be explained away. We have no evidence before us to show what the other side had to say in answer to this charge. Perhaps Chandra Gupta thought that he had acquired a vested right to succeed to the throne, and it was his duty to assert that right. But the general body of people would never excuse him for this crime. Apart from this fault, however, Gupta had no other short comings and like Poet Kalidas we may perhaps say

“एको हि दोषो गुण सन्निपाते

निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ”

No. 2 Should keep retail shops in the streets.

No. 3 Should take up the occupation of Chariot driving (अश्वसारथ्यं) and medical treatment of horses (अश्वानाञ्च चिकित्सनं). It is a blasphemy to think of चिकित्सा (which secures to human beings that आरोग्य which is at the root of ऋतुर्वर्गं viz. धर्म, अर्थ, काम, and मोक्ष। “धम्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां आरोग्यं मूलं सुत्तमं”) as a निन्दित वृत्ति and it is also a blasphemy to bring in अश्वष्ठ, (who falling under category (A) above got merged in the “विप्र वर्ण” under the प्रतिलोमज class.

By the word “चिकित्सनं” in this Sloka, Manu evidently meant the art of healing the diseases of cattle. Perhaps the original text read “सूतानां अश्व सारथ्यं अश्वानाञ्च चिकित्सनं” but the bookish Pandit who first edited Manu-Smriti in the 15th Century and lived in his humble cottage hundreds of miles away from Civil and Army head quarters, could not imagine that there could be such a *Britti* as the healing of horse diseases. As human ailments were cured by the Ambastha Brahmans, evidently by a confusion of thought he substituted “अश्वष्ठानां” for the word “अश्वानाञ्च” The work of mutilation and substitution is however distinctly discernible from the fact that by this change “चिकित्सा” has been converted into a banned *britti* and while Manu wanted to describe the *Vritti* of 3 castes in this Sloka, its present text is interpreted to describe the *Vritti* of 4 castes.

CHAPTER XIV

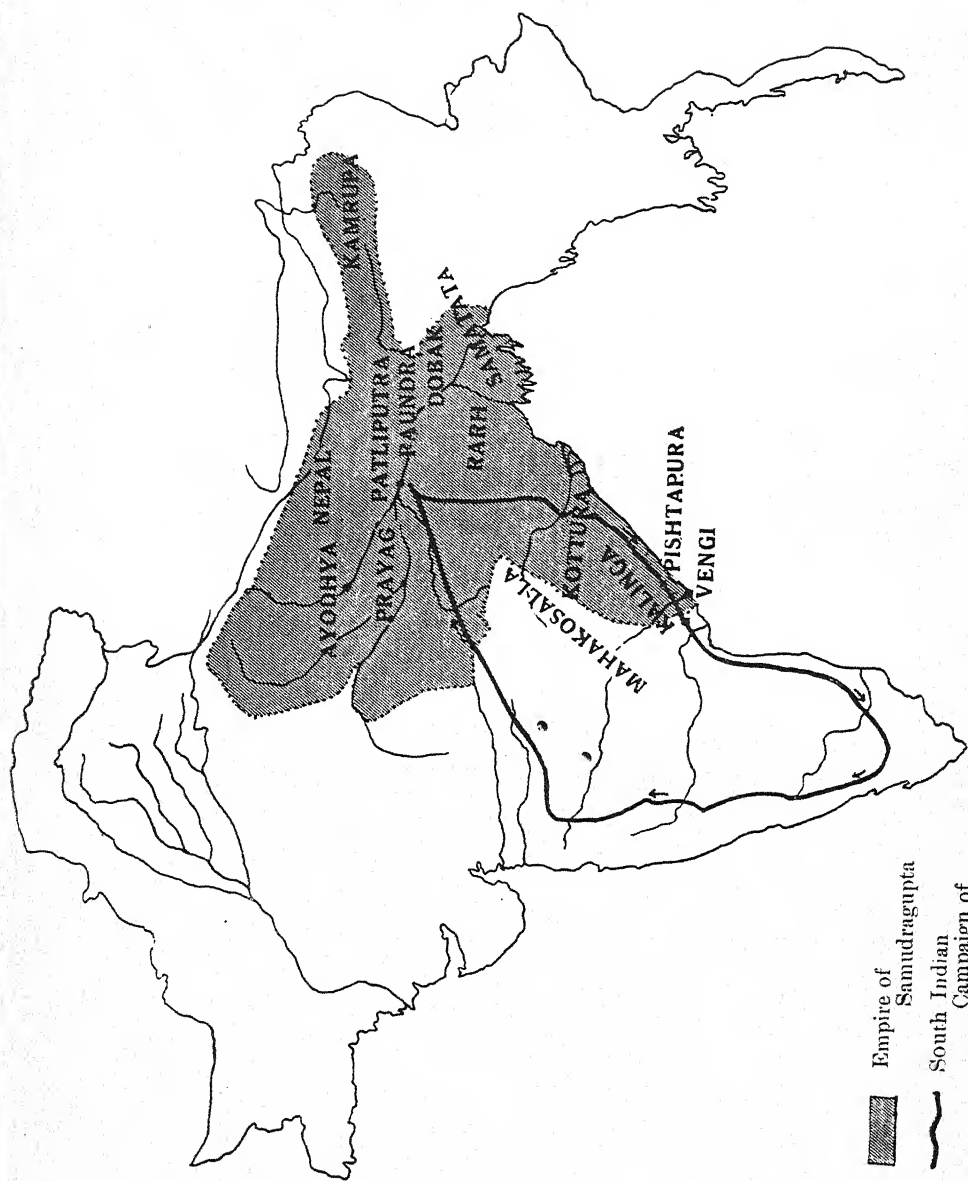
THE GUPTAS IN EXILE.

Agreeably to the wishes of his cabinet, Chandra Gupta did not return to Pataliputra after he had quelled the disorder in his ancestral kingdom, Prayag to Ajodhya. The Guptas were in exile from about 340 to 344 A. D. and during this period they resided at Ajodhya, their second and favourite capital. It was a famous centre of culture at the time, being the home of Aswaghosh, the Kalidas of the preceding epoch. To Ajodhya also belonged the great scholar Sikharaswamin who became the Prime Minister of Ram Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. Tradition of Ajodhya was fully imbibed by the Guptas, and Vakti in Vishnu moulded their national action and their political character, and they thought of Vishnu and they thought in Vishnu. A darshan of the Vishnu image enshrined at Eran, reminds the pilgrim, of Samudra Gupta himself. The pilgrim sees Samudra Gupta's figure and dress in the statue. Any one who would see the Vishnu-varaha image at the Chandra Gupta cave at Udaigiri would be reminded of Chandra Gupta II rescuing Dhruba Devi. The training received during this period of exile was sufficient to turn the Gupta dynasty into a dynasty of Hindu of Hindus, the protectors and upholders of धर्म, ब्राह्मण and cow, literature and sculpture, language and law, national culture and national civilisation of Hindu India. Theirs was the proud privilege of flooding the country with the issue of Imperial gold coins marked with the Gupta insignia of "गङ्गध्वजः". Sanskrit was made the court language by them and they understood and performed अश्वमेध यज्ञः on their restoration to the Imperial throne of Magadh. They believed that they had a mission to conquer the unrighteous and rightless sovereigns and this they fulfilled fully. Majesty of Hinduism was raised by them to the pinnacle of glory.

CHAPTER XV

SAMUDRA GUPTA'S RECAPTURE OF THE MAGADH THRONE AND EXPANSION OF THE EMPIRE.

The Vayu Puran deals with the Guptas after the closing of the rule of the Nagas in Pataliputra and Champavati, while the Vishnu Purana starts with the Guptas while the Nagas were still in power in Magadh. It appears that coming out of the exile, Samudra Gupta (Chandra Gupta's son) conducted three wars,—two in Aryavarta, and one in the south. In the 1st war there were two engagements *viz.*, (1) siege of Pataliputra and (2) a battle near Allahabad (Kausambi). On hearing that Pataliputra had been besieged, Prabara Sena I (Vakataka emperor) was coming to its relief aided by Achyut Nandi (a scion of the Nagas of Abichhatra), Naga Sena (King of Mathura), and Ganapati Nag (King of Malwa and Dhar at Padmavati, and a son of Kirti Sen of Mathura who was the father-in-law of Kalyan Varma). Samudra Gupta by forced march met them at Allahabad, and in the battle that ensued all these noted warriors were killed. Kalyan Varma (the prince of the family of Kot) was captured and Samudra Gupta made a triumphant entry into the capital in 344 A.D. Chandra Gupta (then an old and crippled man) was seated on the throne, but before the Council of Ministers he bade his son to rule in full co-operation with the ministers. His territory now extended from Oudh to Hardwar and the Siwalik in the north, and towards the east and south from Allahabad to the mouth of the Ganges through Champa (Bhagalpur) and the hinterland consisting of the dominion of the Chhota Nagas of Panchakote.





2. By the above defeat, the Vakataka power was demoralised, but he then made up his mind to cause further confusion and helplessness to the Vakataka Emperor. On the plea of inspection of the newly acquired territories of the Singha and Kesari kings of the Naga dynasty in the tract from Panchakote to Orissa, he marched his army through the Chhota Nagpur forest roads, and all of a sudden, attacked direct the terminal Bakatak territories of Kosala, Mekal and Andhra. Two armies of the Bakataka emperor,—one under General Manta Raja of Kurla (with Swami Dutt and Daman) and the other under the command of Vishnu Gopa of Kanchi [with (1) Nil Raja of Abamukta, (2) Hariti Varma of Vengi (3) Ugra Sen of Palakka, and (4) Dhananjoy of Kushas-thalapur],—opposed Samudra Gupta, but victory was on the side of Samudra Gupta.

3. Samudra Gupta's principle in life was never to keep in captivity a vanquished enemy. He always released rulers who were captured in war by him, and the same principle was followed by him in this instance also. He annexed Kosala, and Mekala to the extended territory mentioned in the above para and the province thus reconstituted (which extended from south east of Magadh through Chhota Nagpur right down to Baster and the Chanda district) was governed by a prince Viceroy from Champa. At the same time he however set up a new feudatory kingdom in the area known as Kalinga — "Mahishika Mahendra" corresponding roughly with the Eastern Ghats or Northern Circars. The rulers of this dynasty were at first known as the Magadha dynasty but at the time of Skanda Gupta, they changed their name to Sálankáyan dynasty. They were Brahmans and relatives of the Imperial Guptas, but used the name suffixes of Varman *e. g.*, names of the first few kings were Shakti Varman, Chandra Varman,

Vijoy Nandi Varman, etc. The third War or the second Arya-Varta War of Samudra Gupta was decided by the Battle of Eran. In it Bakatak Emperor Rudra Sen was killed and Samudra Gupta not only won dominion over the Vindhyan principalities of Baghelkhund and Eastern Bundelkhund (the Central seat of the Bakatakas), but he won all the tracts, to the south of the Vindhya consisting of :—

Naishadh (Berar)	} Between Balaghat
Jaduk (Deogiri or Daulatabad)	

and Kaltoya (between Gujarat and Aparanta). This province was not taken possession of but handed over to Bakatak Prithvi Sen who ruled from Berar and was in direct contact with Kuntal which he conquered subsequently.

4. I now append below a genealogical table of the glorious Gupta family.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GLORIOUS GUPTA FAMILY OF NORTHERN INDIA

1. (Maharaj) **Sri Gupta** (of Ambastha in the Punjab) { An ally of the Nagas
and Bakatakas in
the Kushan war.

(After the defeat of the Kushans, the Imperial Nagas gave him a fief—"Prayag to Oudh-Saket ")

2. **Ghatotkacha.**

3. **Chandra Gupta**

Gupta Era Starts
from 319 or 320 A.D.

= Lichchhavi Princess Kumar Devi
(Founder of the Gupta Dynasty of Magadh, which is also known as "Chandra Vansa" or "Soma Vansa")
For a time he had to live in exile, when Kalyan Varma (of the Kot or Chhota Naga Dynasty occupied the Throne at the instance of his Ministers.

Minister of Peace
or War, as also
Poet Laureate. —
Harisena.

4. **Samudra Gupta (Ashvamedhin)**
= Dattā Devi

Reign from about 350 A.D.

(a) Kot (or Naga) Raja Kalyan Varma was defeated and captured.

(b) Rajas of Mathura, Padmavati, Ahichhatra, were defeated and killed together with King Prabara Sen at Allahabad.

(c) Annexed Kosala, Mahakantara and Kalinga.

(d) Defeated the following Kings in Southern India

1. Swami Dutt of Koltoor and Pishtapur.
2. Daman of Erandapalla.
3. Vishnu Gopa of Kanchi.

4. Nilraja of Abamukta.
5. Ugra Sen of Palakka.
6. Hasti Verma of Vengi.
7. Kuber of Deorashtra
8. Dhananjoy of Kushasthalpur.

(e) Levied tribute from the following Kingdoms in Northern India:—

1. Samatata (probably a part of the Delta and a part of East Bengal)
2. Dabāka (probably Dacca)
3. Kamrup (Assam)
4. Nepal
5. Dartripur (Kumaun and Garhwal)
6. Mathura (Yadavas of Mathura and Ahichhatra Jullundhar)
7. Arjunayana
8. Yaudheyā
9. Madrāka
10. Abhir
11. Sanakānika (Malav) about 376 A. D.
12. Kaka (Sanchi)
13. Kharaparika.

(f) Also destroyed the power of a king, named Chandra Varma of Pushkarana in Northern India who according to the inscriptions on the Delhi Iron Pillar (read with the Mandasore Stone inscriptions and the Allahabad Victory inscriptions) had raised the Vishnu Dhruva in the Vishnu Pada hill and had conquered the whole of the country from the Bay of Bengal to Bahlik. (This

Chandra Varma's younger brother was Nara Varma whose grandson was Governor of Malav in 437 A. D.)

5. **Chandra Gupta II (Vikramaditya)**

(Pre-coronation name: Deva Gupta).

(a) Occupied Malava in about 400 A. D. (*vide* Minister Bir Sen's Udaigiri Cave inscription).

(b) Between the years 388 and 409 A. D. took possession of the territories belonging to Kushan Mahakshtrapa Rudra Singh of Ujjaini. In 409 he struck coin in his name.

(c) Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian lived in Gupta dominions for over 6 years. He has left a glowing account of the state of the country. Fa Hian lived at Tamralipti for over 2 years.

Ministers—

1. Bir Sen
2. Shikhar Swami
son of Vishnu Palit.

By 1st wife Princess
Kuber Naga of the
Imperial Naga family

By second wife
Dhruba Devi.

Prabhabati Gupta
= Rundra Sen (Baka-
taka Emperor)

(Minister & Com-
mander in Chief
Prithvi Sen)

6. **Kumar Gupta I**
Ashwamedhin
(Narendraditya)
450 to 455

Gobinda or Krishna
Gupta
(*vide* page 74)

By 1st Wife

By 2nd wife Ananta
Devi

7. **Skand Gupta**
(455-465)
o

8. **Pura Gupta**
= Batsa Devi)

(From 465
The Guptas lost their
sovereignty every
where except in
Magadha and Bengal)

9. **Narasinha Gupta**
= Maha Lukshmi
Devi.

- (a) It is stated that
he destroyed the
Hun kingdom
with the help of
Yashodharma of
Malav.
- (b) His coins have
been found in
Kalighat Rana-
ghat & Birbhum
—(Nannur).
- (c) Yashodharma
then conquered
Gaur, Magadh,
and Bengal.

(This Yashodharma held his sway from the Himalayas
to Mahendra Giri and from the Brahmaputra
to the Arabian Sea)

10. **Kumar Gupta II**
Names of

subsequent emperors have not yet been discovered, but
coins issued by some bearing the names of Vishnu
Gupta (Dwadashaditya), Krishna Gupta (Chandraditya),
and Jai Gupta have been found in Kalighat and
Murshidabad. On this line being extinct, the throne at
Pataliputra was occupied by the grandson of Govinda or
Krishna Gupta who was the second son of Vikramaditya the
Great.

Gobinda alias Krishna Gupta
(Vikramaditya's second son, vide page 73)

Harsha Gupta (not crowned)

Jivita Gupta I

11.

|
Kumar Gupta III

Burnt himself to death at Prayag for killing in battle the Maukhari King Ishan Varma, evidently because the Maukharis belonged to the same stock as the Imperia Guptas [the territory from Prayag to Oudh (Saket) having been made over to their ancestors as descendants of Chandra Gupta I].

12.

|
Damodar Gupta

He also fought with the Maukharis. Although he broke up the mighty array of their elephants with which they had defeated the Huns, he expired in that fight.

13. [Son] **Mahasen Gupta.**

Defeated Susthit Varma.
Raja of Kamrup on the
banks of Brahmaputra
d. 640 ?

|
Shashanka ?
d. 639 ?

|
[Daughter] Mahasen Gupta.
= Thaneshwar King Aditya
Burdhan.

(Her son Probhakar Bradhan
became the 1st Maharaja
in Thaneshwar Line)

|
14. **Madhav Gupta** [640-645]
= Srimati Devi.

[Contemporary of Harsha
Vardhan whose Samanta
King he became later on].

|
15. **Aditya Sen** [645-675]
= Kona Devi.

(a) Built the temple of Nrihari on the Mandar hill after performing 3 Ashwamedha Yajnas and making tuladan of his weight of gold. The work was entirely done under his orders and it involved provision of three myriad of large jewels and 3 lakhs

of gold tanakas. The ceremony was done strictly according to Shastric rites.

(b) His mother caused to be built a religious college on the above hill.

(c) His wife caused to be excavated on the above hill 2 large tanks,—one on the higher level and one on the lower.

(d) A military commander in his service (Salapaksha) installed the image of Sun on the above hill.

(e) A person named Balabhadra built a temple on the above hill and installed therein an image of the Boar—Incarnation. Became independent after the death of Harshavardhon.

A daughter = Bhog Varma.	675-690 ?	16.	Deva Gupta (Shaiba *)
			= Kamala Devi
	690-710 ?	17.	Vishnu Gupta (Shaiva*)
	"		= Ijja Devi
* Inscription No. 46	710-730 ?	18.	Jibita Gupta II
			(Killed by Yosha- varma in 730)

No further names are available.

It however appears that a section of this Imperial family ruled in Malava for some time *e. g.* there is evidence showing that—

1. A king by name Budha Gupta ruled in Malava in 485-496.
2. A king by name Bhanu Gupta ruled in Malava in 510-511.
3. These Malava Guptas were ruling either as independent kings or as samanta kings up to the beginning of the 7th century.

CHAPTER XVII.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBORDINATE STATES.

It will perhaps be appropriate to consider here the form of Government which the Guptas adopted for the purpose of the Imperial Administration. All the conquered tracts in Southern India, which had belonged to the Imperial Bakatakas, were made over to them unconditionally, but the Bakatakas (*viz.* the Sens of Southern India) continued to administer them as feudataries of the Imperial Guptas. Once, when the Kadambas tried to break away from the Gupta Samanta Chakra and assert independence, Prithwi Sen Bakatak gave them battle and compelled the Kadambas to sue for peace by ceding the Kuntal province from out of their territories. The terms of that treaty were never dis-respected. A happy relationship subsisted between the Imperial Guptas and the Bakatak Sens and the Kadambas. Rudra Sen II (Bakataka) was the husband of Prabhabati Gupta, a princess of the Gupta family; a matrimonial alliance was also effected with the Kadambas when Lady Ajjhita, a daughter of King Kakustha of Karnat was married to Narendra Sen, grandson of princess Prabhavati. In time, the power of the Bakatakas passed on to their kinsmen successors, the Chalukyas. But the Chalukyas also stood by the Guptas in times of trouble, *e.g.*, the Chalukyas fought on the side of king Shashanka against Harshavardhan and defeated Harsha.

2. In the North Samudra Gupta left the status quo undisturbed in the territories mentioned against (e) under his name in the Genealogical Table. As an effect of this arrangement, the descendants of Bir Sen (a scion

of the Bhar Siva Nagas who were staunch Shaivas) continued to rule in Mathura and Malava under the name (नव or new) Yadavas. Chandra Gupta II — Vikramaditya the Great — a great Vaishnava — cherishing a desire to revive the Vaishnava Prem Cult in Brajamandal (Mathura) took possession of these tracts by giving the Shaiva Yadavas every opportunity to found a new kingdom in the South. The Rashtra, that was thus formed, grew in time to be the great Rashtrakuta Empire which succeeded to the Sovereignty of the Deccan in the middle of the 8th century and remained in supreme power up to 973 A.D. The devotion of the Rashtrakutas to Shiva is embodied in the marvellous rock cut Kailas temple at Ellora one of the wonders of the World. In their heart of hearts they were loyal to the Guptas *e. g.* we find that Rashtrakuta King, 3rd Gobinda, espoused the cause of Chakrayudha (Gupta King of Kanauj) who was defeated by the Gurjar Raja Nagbhatt II towards the end of the 8th century and compelled the Gurjar King not to stir out of the limits of his own possession. It was only when he was satisfied that there was no hitch for the coronation of Chakrayudha that he returned to his capital, Manyakhet, with the satisfaction that he successfully stood by a scion of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty in his time of need.

3. It was the policy of the Guptas to establish kinsmen rulers in provinces near about the frontier and in accordance with this policy, such relatives were entrusted with the administration of the following administrative units *viz* :—

1. Samatata
2. Dabak
3. Kamrup
4. Kalinga (Mahendra, portion now called Eastern Ghats or Northern Circars).

4. After the transfer of the capital to Gaur numbers (1) and (2) remained in constant touch with the Central Government, but owing to the comparative inaccessibility of Nos. (3) and (4) there was no strong centripetal force to bind them to the Central Government. As the power of the Central Government weakened, these two ruling houses became restive, so that we find that Emperor Mahasen Gupta had to fight with the then king of Kamrup, Susthit Varma on the banks of the Brahmaputra, in which the latter was defeated (Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Volume III, p. 203). It also appears that about two generations afterwards — *viz.* in the first part of the 8th century, Harsha Dev, King of Kamrup, ruled over Gaur, Orissa and Koshala for some time. As for rulers of No. (4) they were quite loyal as long as the Guptas were in power. After the Gupta power declined, and the Pals came in, Orissa passed into their hands.

5. The ancestral property of the Guptas *viz.* from Prayag to Oudh (Saket) was at first tacked to the Central Government and administered directly by it. But it appears that later on it was converted into a Samanta raj, and given to a member of the Imperial family who founded the Maukhari Raj with his capital at Kanauj and assumed the name suffix of "Varma", indicative of his Oath to stand by the Imperial Dynasty in time of need. It will be seen that the members of the family, whether at Kanauj or at Malava belonged to the same stock and were cousins. As is usual in such cases, there were minor squabbles between them now and then, but they were not of very serious nature. In one of such minor engagements, Emperor Kumar Gupta III happened to kill Maukhari King Ishan Varma, and in penance of Jnatibadha sin, he caused a pyre of cowdung cake fire

to be raised on the banks of the Ganges at Prayaga, threw himself into it, and was burnt to ashes.

6. Some special remarks appear to be necessary here about the feudatory kingdom of Thaneshwar, which came into existence out of the kingdom formerly known as Jullundher Rajya — and which was undoubtedly of great antiquity. The earliest historical mention of Jullunder occurs in the reign of Kaniska, the Kushon, who ruled from Kabul to U. P. and at whose instance, there met at Kuvana near Jullundhar a council of Buddhist teachers in 100 A. D. which set to itself the task of collecting and arranging the sacred writings of Buddhism and bringing about a reconciliation between the different sects. It was thus a strong hold of Buddhism even in the 2nd century A. D. When the Uttara Yadavas (descendants of Bir Sen of Mathura, a scion of the Imperial Nagas) took possession of Jullundhar Rajya after the successful termination of the Kushan War, with a view to re-establishing the worship of Shiva, they founded their capital at Thaneshwar, leaving the administration of Jullundher in the hands of a feudatory chief. Frequent matrimonial alliances were effected between the House of Thaneshwar and the Gupta Houses of Magadh, Malawa and Kanauj. Thus we find that (1) Aditya Vardhan grandfather of Harshavardhan married "Mahāsenguptá", a daughter of Emperor Damodar Gupta of Magadh, and (2) Rajya Sri, sister of Harshavardhan was married to Graha Varma, a prince of the Makhauri family of Kanauj. There was thus a close blood relationship between the three houses, and all went on well for a considerable time. In the beginning of the 7th century, Rajyavardhan the elder brother of Harshavardhan, embraced the Buddhist faith and this caused a rift in the lute, for the spirit of toleration in religion which was so marked a feature of

the Guptas appears to have been shaken about this time. We find that

- (a) Without any other apparent cause than having married the sister of Rajyavardhan, Grahavarma the last Makhauri King of Kanauj was killed by Deva Gupta, the Raja of Malwa, and his wife Rajya Sri, was imprisoned by him, although her father was the son of Princess Mahasen Gupta of Magadha.
- (b) We find Rajyavardhan thereupon gave battle to Deva Gupta, killed him, and took away two of his sons to Thaneshwar and made them serve as companions to his own sons.
- (c) We find that Shashanka, the Commander in chief of the Magadh Emperor, avenged the indignity to the Imperial house, and not only killed Rajyavardhan but took severe punitive measures against the Buddhist monks at various places, and even went to the length of desecrating the Bajrasan under the Bodhidruma.

7. The disunion thus engendered among the blood relatives no doubt led to the ultimate downfall of the Gupta Empire, but the immediate effect of it was that all the three kingdoms *viz.* the kingdoms of Kanauj, Malawa, and Thaneshwar vested in Harshavardhan with popular approval and Harsha began to rule over them from Mahodaya-Sri Kanya Kubja. Emperor Madhava Gupta of Magadh (Gaur) had to offer his allegiance to him with the result that when his son Aditya Sen succeeded him on the throne, he could not have the privilege of using the word "Gupta" as his name-suffix. Upto

the end of the sixth century however, there was complete harmony and the reign of the Imperial Guptas was a glorious record in the history of India.

8. Let us now consider what arrangements were made for the administration of the territories acquired from the Chhota Nagas of Bengal, who had changed their name suffixes from Nagas to "Singhas", and "Kesaris" during the period of their exile. The territories over which they domineered, extended from the South East of Magadh through the present Chhota Nagpur, and the tributary states of Orissa to the Mohanadi Valley including Koshala and Mekala (Raipur-Bastur and Chanda). All this tract together with Bengal (as far as it then came into the possession of the Guptas) and South Magadh formed one administrative charge which was entrusted to Yubaraja Deva Gupta (who afterwards assumed the name of Chandra Gupta II, the Great Vikramuditya). He began to rule this vast tract with his capital at Champa (Bhagalpur). That is why Champa thenceforward came to be known as "देवरजिता" i.e., protected by Dev (Gupta). But it was soon noticed that to exercise proper supervision over this vast area, the capital of the administrative unit should be situated at a more central position than its extreme end.

9. A portion out of the कोटाटवी comprising parts of the present Birbhum and Bankura districts was therefore parcelled out and with the name "Senbhum" given to it was placed under the personal administration of the Yuvaraj, and the rest of the area which was called Singhabhumi, was divided into a large number of tributary mahals for distribution among the Singhas and Kesaris, (the descendants of the Naga Rajas); but a few non-Naga ruling families were also established between them for diplomatic reasons. The Yuvaraj had not only

to look to the detailed administration of the unit which was in his personal charge, but also to exercise supervision and control over the numerous other feudatory chiefs, and as he was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial House, he went by the designation of "Maha Samanta". According to Fleet, a Mahasamanta is a feudatory title equal in rank with "Maharaja and Mahasenapati". During the sovereignty of Harshavardhan, we find that Angshu Varman was "Mahasamanta" while Lichchhabī King was the "Maharaja". They were both of equal rank. When the sovereignty of Harsha was gone, it is Angshu Varman who succeeded to the Nepal throne. The Gupta Yuvaraja ruling in Sen-bhumi had therefore a very high responsibility to discharge. He was the mainstay of the empire and a sort of emperor on probation.

10. As a Mahasamanta, Prince Deva Gupta (who ultimately became Vikramaditya the Great) lived in this part for many years till his elevation to the Imperial throne. Here he made many friends among the literary and wise men by whom he was surrounded and advised on intricate issues, and he also visited many places within the area. If one goes to Agradwipa (a sacred place on the Bhagirathi about 15 miles north of Nabadwip) people would point out to him the ghat where Vikramaditya used to bathe every day, while at Samudra Garh (only 2 or 3 miles down the Bhagirathi from Nabadwip), they would say that the place so called contained a fort built by Vikramaditya to protect the waterway of the Ganges and named after his father's name. At Telkupi (Manbhum), people would say that that was the place where Vikramaditya used to rub his body with oil before bath, and at Dalmi about 60 miles from Telkupi, they would point out the tank where he would bathe and

show the temple where he would make his Puja after bath. The Kotatabi (*viz.*, the wide-spread hill forests of Mallabhum, Sikharbhum, Dhalbhum and Barabhum comprising the present Manbhum and Singhbhum districts), through which the river Subarna Rekha passes was also known as Karna Subarna (evidently derived from Kiran Subarna from the aureferous sands in its bed); and, because the river Sal (a fairly long and deep river with low banks) passed through Senbhumi, that part of the country was also known as Sálbáhan. The Mahá Sámanta of Karna Subarna was therefore known as the Raja of Sálbáhan* as well.

11. It would thus appear that the Mahasamanta had two capitals in this part, *viz.*

(a) The principal Capital in which he resided and carried on the administration of the unit, which was in his personal charge (*i. e.*, of Senbhumi, or Dakshin Rarh, or Sál-Báhan country) and

(b) The subsidiary capital of Kotatabi or Karna-subarna from which he exercised administrative control over all the numerous Sámanta Rajas placed under him.

* From the Burdwan District Gazetteer we gather that the home of the legendary merchant prince of Bengal, Srimanta Sowdagar, was a place on the borders of Burdwan and Birbhum districts. Sloka No. 45 of Chapter 16 in the Uttarkhanda of the Brihatdharma Puran (Bangabasi edition) informs us that both he and his father were imprisoned by the King of the tract who was known as Sri Salbahana Nripati.

CHAPTER XVIII

NAGAR — THE CAPITAL OF DAKSHIN RARH.

The area under consideration was at one time under the administration of the Maurya Emperors. The Jainas used to call it Rarh, and the capital of Rarh then was Nagar. The common people had already settled down to civilised life. They were industrious cultivators and very dexterous bowmen, and for their heroic deeds, this part of the country came to be known as Birbhumi. Nagar which was once a place of considerable consequence and note during the Maurya period fell into decay subsequently. When the question of the location of the capital for Senbhumi (or Salbahan) therefore came up for consideration during the Gupta period, Nagar would naturally appeal to be the most suitable site for it but some scholars have held that the capital must have been somewhere in the suburbs of the present village of Rangamati, six miles south west of Behrampur because:

- (a) The ruins of a splendid monastery about 7 miles in circuit are visible at the place which corresponds to the monastery Lo-to-wei-chin (Raktamitti) mentioned in Hiu-en Tsang's report, and
- (b) Some think that there was a village named Kansonagar near about these ruins and the name Karna Subarna mentioned by the Traveller may have been derived from it.

2. As the distance of the boundary line of Birblum from the western bank of the Bhagirathi has nowhere been less than 10 miles at any time, the above suggestion would place the capital at a point beyond the jurisdiction of Dakshin Radha, and too far away from the tributary

states for the purpose of exercising proper administrative control over them. It would defeat the very purpose for which the transfer of the head quarters of the Mahasamanta from Champa was considered necessary. We must therefore reject Rangamati as the capital of Karna Subarna. Hiu-en Tsang has said that there lay a kingdom in the valley of "Kie-lona-su-fa-la-na" or "Kiran Suvaran", and does not appear to have stated exactly where its capital was situated. As "reikha" and "Kiran" both mean a ray, Cunningham has rightly taken "Kiran Suvarna" to mean the well-known river "Sub-arna Rekha" which passes through these petty states. It is more or less certain that somewhere on this river lay the capital of the Mahasamanta for exercising control over all the Samanta princes. Scholars are however not unanimous regarding its exact locality *e.g.*

- (a) Cunningham thinks that it was at or near Barabazar in Paragana Barabhum.
- (b) Hewit has placed it at Dalmi in Pargana Patkum (where extensive ruins still exist).
- (c) Beglar would place it at Sefaran 10 miles northwest of Dalmi (on the river Subarnarekha).

3. Taking all the facts into account, it seems to me that the capital of the Mahasamanta's state of Senbhumi or Salbahan, and consequently his principal place of residence, could not have been any other than Nagar, the capital of the Mauryyas, which was still in existence in Birbhum and of which the walls still extend round the town for 32 miles.

4. The Raktamrittik monastery referred to by the Traveller is undoubtedly the monastery so called, of which the ruins are still in existence at Rangamati. But the Traveller said that the monastery was "near" the capital.

It was not specifically stated by him that the monastery was *at* the capital of Karnasubarna. To a pilgrim walking thousands of miles, over hills and dales, and roadless regions, a place at a distance of 50 or 60 miles was "near" enough, specially when there was a good road in existence. He might have easily travelled by the Sainthia—Behrampur Road.

CHAPTER XIX

RANGAMATI — THE CAPITAL OF UTTAR-RARH

From the accounts of Rajendra Chola's Invasion of Bengal in the time of King 1st Mahipal in about 1021 to 1025 A. D., it clearly appears that there were two separate administrations for Rarh, — one was called "Dakshin Rarh" and the other was called "Uttar Rarh". Rarh is ordinarily known as the part of the country which lies to the west of the Ganges (Bhagirathi). As the Nagas during the course of their voluntary exile did not extend the limit of their eastern boundary so as to reach the bank of the Bhagirathi, a belt of land some ten to fifteen miles in breadth remained on the western bank of the Bhagirathi which, though a part of Rarh, had to be given a separate and distinct name. This explains the origin of expressions, "Dakshin Rarh" and "Uttar Rarh" in Rajendra Chola's narration. In this connection, it would perhaps be appropriate to indicate the geographical position of the following places mentioned in the local history :—

- (a) The term "Bangal" as used by Ananta Varma Chora Ganga in his war achievements applied to the then newly settled delta between the Bhagirathi and the Padma (main channel of the Ganges) south of Uttar Rarh.
- (b) Bagri — that tract in district Murshidabad which lies immediately to the east of the Bhagirathi.
- (c) Barendrabhumi — applies to the tract north of the Padma lying between Bagri and the Mahananda and Karatoya rivers.
- (d) East of Barindri was East Bengal and Samatat.

2. We have already decided that the capital of Dakshin Rarh, or Birbhum or Senbhum was Nagar. Where was the capital of Uttar Rarh? It has been noticed by antiquarians* that there are ruins of a palace and a fort, and also extensive ruins of temples and monasteries in the suburbs of the present village of Rangamati, six miles south west of Beharampur and consequently within the area of Uttar Rarh as defined above. But who built this palace and this fort? Scholars are not unanimous on this point. One school thought it to be the capital of Karna Subarna which we have rejected. But no other opinion has yet been advanced beyond the following record :—

“Tradition says that the king of Lanka invaded Bengal with a powerful fleet and sailed up the Ganges as far as Rangamati, then called Kansonopuri, a place of considerable importance, where the king and queen often resided. The invaders plundered the country and destroyed the city. This happened long before the invasion of Bengal by the Muhammadans in 1204 A. D.” Captain Layard in Journal No. 3 of 1853 stated: “Rangamati, anciently named the city of Kansonopuri is said to have been built many hundreds of years ago by a famous Maharaja of Bengal, named Karun Sen, who resided chiefly at Gaur. The remains of the greater part of the Rajbari are distinctly traceable on three sides, although now under cultivation, the fourth has disappeared, in the river”.

3. Reading the above remarks with (a) the accounts of the depredatory incursions of Rajendra Chola into Bengal (in the time of the 1st Mahipal, 1021-25 A. D.)

* Vide Gazetteer of Murshidabad district.

and of Ananta Varma Chorganga (in the time of Kumar Pala) we may reasonably draw the inferences :—

- (a) That the administration of Uttar-Rarh was separate from the administration of Dakshin Rarh.
 - (b) That Uttar-Rarh was formed out of the Imperial enclave of Gaur, and its capital Rangamati was a sort of second capital of the Imperial House. (Emperor Mahipal was himself defeated here by Rajendra Chola).
 - (c) That the capital of Uttar-Rarh was Rangamati near Beharampur, which was destroyed by Ananta Varma Chora Ganga who is no other than the legendary Raja of Lanka, still spoken of by the people who live near about.
 - (d) That in their war of conquest, the army of Rajendra Chola marched *overland* while Ananta Varma Chora Ganga invaded Bengal *with a fleet of fighting boats*.
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CHAPTER XX

TRIBENI — CAPITAL OF SAPTAGRAM

On the junction of the Kosi river with the Ganges, the united mass of water gradually so operated that the main current began to pass through the Padma leaving the old channel from Songti comparatively dry. The sanctity of the old channel on which stood sacred places like Katakadwipa (Katwa), Agradwipa, Nabadwipa, Tribeni however continued and still continues. From the dawn of history this water channel has formed the great high road from Bengal to the Sea. One race after another who dominated this part of the country built their capitals for the time on the banks of this sacred river. The insatiable river however dealt impartially with them all. All she attacked, and either deserted or destroyed.

2. In Ptolemy's map of the second century A. D. we see that the southern portion of the delta consisted of a succession of small islands in which there were scattered settlements of fishermen and boatmen only. Civilised habitations were in existence on the western bank of the Bhagirathi and during Alexander's time, the country lying about the mouth of the Ganges (Bhagirathi) was known as Gangaridae. In 326 B. C. that great warrior was informed by his own men that the power of the Parsii (Patna King) and of the Gangaridae consisted of 20,000 horse, 2 lakhs foot, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 elephants. This referred to the time when the vast, Mauryya empire had extended over the whole of Bengal up to the mouth of the Ganges and to Tamralipti. The strength of the river force has not been included in the above list, but we may assume that to secure safety of the sea and inland river routes

for the peaceful passage of merchantmen, considerable number of police and military boats had to be maintained and these were quartered mainly in the lower reaches of the river. An important seat of commerce on the river has been mentioned both by Virgil and Ptolermy as Gange. But no remains of that Gange have survived due to the ravages of the shifting river. To localise the position of this commercial centre we have therefore to find out the seat of the people who controlled the Admiralty department. From the Dasakumar Charita we find that the Suhma race which dominated the tract alongside the western bank of the river had a separate kingdom which extended so far south that it included Damalipiti and the sea coast, but that does not help us to find out the commercial centre in the upper region. The Suhma kingdom ultimately got absorbed in Rarha, so that we do not find any mention of the Suhmas in Hiuen Tsang's Travels. Scholars are of opinion that this centre must have been at Tribeni* the confluence of three great rivers, where a large concourse of pilgrims met and which was a great centre of culture as well. Indeed this would be quite applicable during the Gupta period when owing to the very heavy charge entrusted on the Mahasamanta, it was considered necessary to start a new administrative unit under a Samanta raja to deal with the Civil Administration of the area lying between the Damodar and the Bhagirathi (subsequently known as Saptagram Pergana) and also to hold charge of the Admiralty Department and the ports on the banks of the Bhagirathi. Damodar then debouched into the Bhagirathi many miles up its present confluence — somewhere in the Hooghly district — so that it formed the south western border of the kingdom of Saptagram. The seat of government of this

* vide Gazetteer of Hughly district.

part we may therefore take as Tribeni where several inscriptions have been found dating 1298 A. D., showing that even after the Muhammadan raid on Navadwip in 1200 A. D. this part remained independent for at least a century.

CHAPTER XXI

ORIGIN OF THE SAL ERA.

A new era starts to commemorate an event of national importance. As the Sal era at present in force in Bengal is 1345, it must have started from some important event which occurred in (1938-1345) or 593 A. D. That event must have been the coronation of a great king or the year of a great military victory won by him, or of the advent or demise of an outstanding figure giving spiritual solace to the people. As the Sal era is confined to Bengal only, we have got to consider what important event occurred in Bengal in 593 A. D. to deserve commemoration by the inauguration of an era. It is generally supposed that the era is connected with the departure of Muhammad from Mecca, or his disappearance from the world. But the event could not have been the departure of Muhammad from Mecca, for that occurred in 622 A. D.; nor his disappearance from this world for that event occurred ten years afterwards. What then was this memorable event which induced the Hindu astrologers to introduce this Era in their yearly almanacs and also the general public (then Hindus) to adopt it in their business transactions and legal documents. I have shown before, that there was a war between Samudra Gupta on one side, and the Nagas and Bakataks on the other, for the occupation of the throne of Magadh in which the latter were defeated with the result that Samudra Gupta's father (Chandra Gupta) became the Emperor of Magadh. The territory belonging to the Bengal Nagas was divided roughly into two parts — Singbhum which was allowed to be retained by the Chhota Nagas (then known as Singhas), and Senbhum which was taken possession of by the Guptas for direct administration. The capital

of this Senbhum was at Rajnagar in Birbhum district through which the river Sal flowed and for that reason, this part of the country also came to be known as Salbahan. Who was the Salbahan Raja at Rajnagar in 593? We know that there was a Mahasamanta King named Shashanka in this part, that he was at war with the House of Thaneshwar, who, though staunch Shaivas in the beginning, became ultimately ardent votaries of the Buddhistic faith. In that war, Thaneshwar King Rajyavardhan was killed in 606 A. D. by Shashanka who also chastised the Buddhist priests at Budh-Gaya, Nalanda and Kushinagar for helping the Bauddha Raja. He threw into the Ganges the piece of stone which contained the holy footprint of Lord Buddha and he tried to destroy the sacred Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya. But these achievements are certainly not in keeping with the tradition of the Imperial Guptas, although Rajyavardhan gave enough cause for revenge by capturing two princes of the Imperial Gupta House in Malwa and making them serve as companions to his own sons. In defence of Shashanka (who was the Yuvaraj and would be Emperor), it has to be considered that as a Mahasamanta (whose functions included the duties of the Commander-in-Chief of the Empire as well) he had to take severe measures for the preservation of the dignity of the Imperial House, but I am inclined to think that for the general public, the achievements were not of so great national importance as to commemorate the year of his reign as a Yuvaraja. We have therefore got to find out what other great event occurred during this period in the Salbahan kingdom which was not tainted with such objectionable features.

2. About 30 miles south of Bhagalpur* in the Banka Sub-Division, there is a hill not more than 700 ft.

* Vide Gazetteer of Bhagalpur district.

high which is known as Mandar Giri. In the Mandar Mahatmya of Skanda Purana and in the Varaha Purana, the hill has been described as very sacred. Vishnu is supposed to be always present in the hill under the name "Madhu Sudana" and it was a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindus. There were eleven springs on this and according to the Puranas a bath in the water of these springs not only washed away all sins but it cured the bather of all physical ailments. A great concourse of people — some times nearing a lakh — assembled at the hill to have a darshan of Madhu Sudana and also a bath in the springs. We must assume that there was a great deal of inconvenience for the pilgrims to have their bath in the scanty flow of the springs besides the general discomfort due to want of accommodation. Matters went on however in this unsatisfactory condition for some time.

3. It appears that in the early twenties of the 7th century, Aditya Sen son of Prince Madhav Gupta of the Imperial family was married to a Princess named Kona Devi of the reigning Chola² family of Mahendragiri. Her father (according to tradition, Chhutter Sen), the feudatory Chief of Kanchipur, came to Gaur with her daughter for the solemnisation of the marriage in accordance with the custom prevailing among the Brahmans (*c. f.* Kirti Sen, King of Mathura, bringing her daughter to Pataliputra for the celebration of her marriage with Kalyan Varma, then king of Magadh). During his short stay in Magadh (Gaur), the King of Kanchipur visited Mandar hill and had a bath in the spring water with the marvellous result that he was cured of leprosy from which he was suffering.

4. Since then immense wealth was spent in beautifying and adorning the hill, and a large city grew up round the base of the hill. A common saying among the people of the neighbourhood is that "the city contained 52 bazars,

53 streets, besides four times twenty-two tanks."

5. It appears that the work of ornamentation of the hill was started by Aditya Sen after he became the Yuvaraj (or Salbahan Raja) on the death of Shashanka *i. e.*, from about 640, and it proceeded throughout his reign as king of Magadh till about 674. From Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indi-Carum, Vol. III, it would appear that —

- (1) Aditya Sen built a temple of Vishnu on the top of the hill (called temple of Nrihari)
- (2) His mother, Srimati Devi, built a Monastery.
- (3) Queen Kona Devi excavated two tanks, one in the higher level called "Sitakunda" and the other in a somewhat lower level on the side of the hill, called "Pápa Hárini".
- (4) Balabhadra (who he was is not known) built a temple of Vishnu (the boar-incarnation).
- (5) A Military officer named Sala Paksha built a temple containing an image of the Sun-God.

6. I now give below an extract from Fleet's Translation of the impression of an inscription kept in the Asiatic Society's Library *vide* page 226 of the above volume :—

There was a king Aditya Sen of renowned fame, equal in glory to the Gods, the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the seas, and the performer of Aswamedha and other sacrifices. On the full moon day of Magha, coupled with the lunar asterism Vishakha in the Krita age, having arrived from the Chola City (*i. e.*, on return from his father-in-law's place) and performed three

Ashwamedha Sacrifices, and given his own weight in gold of thousand times over, together with a crore of horses, — he, with his consort, the glorious Kosha (Kona?) Devi, caused the whole of the famous work to be done, with three myriads of large jewels and three lakhs of gold coin of the kind called tankakas. Having consecrated it according to due rites, through ceremonies performed by the Brahmans, just as if he, the king was laying out the path of the Vedas, he made an establishment of the God Nrihari who is the cause of prosperity of the three worlds.

7. After the work was finished, there must have been great jubilation among the Sadhus, Sanyasins, and the general body of Hindus and all must have showered their blessings on Aditya Sen. The year in which he was *born* must have been considered to be an auspicious one and they must have decided to start a separate era from 1st of Baishakh of that year (apparently 593 A. D.) As the work was started by him as a Salbahan King, the name of the new era was also kept as "Sal".

CHAPTER XXII

GUPTA RAJYA WAS A RAM RAJYA.

Historians regard the Gupta period as the Golden age of India. The kings were powerful and long-lived and they established an ideal Government in the world. Though they were devout Vaishnavas, they showed wonderful tolerance to other creeds. Fa Hian, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who came overland through Khotan and returned to China by sea, lived in the dominions of Chandra Gupta Vikramditya, for five years (399-403 A. D.). Passing through Kashmir, Kabul, Kandahar, the Punjab and Muttra, he found all the people from the highest to the lowest as staunch Buddhists. At Muttra within the precincts of the Gupta Capital, he found as many as six Stupas (one of which was erected in honour of the apostle Sariputta) and numerous monasteries in which about 3,000 monks dwelt. The pilgrim was much pleased with the country and its Government, in which the energies of gifted men had free scope. Literature, art, and science were alike cultivated with great success. The kings maintained a splendid court and gathered round their throne men of eminence in every branch of knowledge, and on these eminent men they bestowed their patronage liberally. Kalidas, the king of Sanskrit dramatists and poets whose works delight European and Indian readers alike flourished in the reign of Kumar Gupta II. The other famous poets of this period were Hari Sena and Bir Sena who adorned the court of Samudra Gupta and his successor. Sudrak, the noted author of *Mrichchhika*, also flourished during this period. Progress of Medical science was unique, and it is to the glorious Gupta Emperors, the world owes a debt of gratitude for first starting the institution of charitable hospitals and

dispensaries. The towns were studded with such charitable institutions. It is said that Samudra Gupta himself was a student of medical science and assumed the title of Kaviraj. Mathematical and astronomical sciences were advanced by Aryabhatta of Pataliputra (born 476 A. D.) author of Arya Siddhanta, Baraha-Mihir of Malwa, and Brahama Gupta founder of Brahmaprakash School of astronomy. The sculpture of the Gupta age is now considered the best of all Indian sculptures, while in regard to painting, although no examples have survived in Northern India, the exquisitely beautiful frescoes of Ajanta caves bear testimony to the power of the artists of the period. The Guptas also practised and patronized the art of music. In short every form of mental activity made itself felt during the period. Many embassies to and from China are recorded, while there was communication with the Byzantine Roman Empire through Alexandria in Egypt, by the trade with which alone (in spices and luxuries only) over one million pounds came to India annually according to Pliny. As already stated, having Ajodhya as their second Capital the Guptas imbibed the tradition of the capital of Rama, and Hindu learning became a part of their political cult and Bhakti in Vishnu moulded their national action and political character. While therefore they were thoroughly tolerant of other creeds or even encouraged them, they pushed forward the ideals of Brahmanya Dharma by free use of Sanskrit. The use of Prakrita dialects gradually ceased, and Sanskrit came to be used as the court language, the language of books and inscriptions, and even of correspondence among the gentlefolk. Full liberty of conscience was allowed to the people to profess any religious faith which appealed to them the most. It thus follows that the Hindu society was reconstructed so as to admit into its body (Kaya)

those or the descendants of those Brahmans* who had previously embraced the Bauddha faith. A new caste, named Káyastha, was created for these reconverted gentlemen and it is during this period that we first come across this word in Sanskrit literature (*e. g.*, vide *Mrichchha Katika*). Pauranik and Smriti literature was also amended and enlarged during this period. The Gupta's greatest gift to the Hindu world was the revival of Vaishnava (Prem and Bhakti) cult in Brajamandal. When the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian came to India in the beginning of the fifth century, he found all the people at Mathura from the highest to the lowest as staunch Buddhists and there were numerous monasteries and stupas. The Jaina cult although it did not gain wide popularity, was certainly practised with much devotion in Muttra. Side by side with these religions, the cult of Nagas, *viz.* Shaivism, was introduced by the Naga Rajas after the death of Kaniskha. Vaishnava dharma was practically non-existent in Mathura. But the Guptas were zealous Vaishnavas; they thought of Vishnu and they thought in Vishnu, and became as it were an embodiment of भागवत धर्म. By themselves practising Vaishnava rites, and by the preaching of Bhagavata Purana‡, they imperceptibly inculcated the Krishna-Prem cult among the people so that when Hiuen Tsang came in the seventh century,

* This view is supported by the fact that even now the Kayasthas of Bengal use those name suffixes which were the surnames of the Vaidik Brahmans in the past.

(‡) From the force of the word “पुरा” in the following Sloka of Chap I, Skanda 1, of *Srimad-Bhagavata*, it is clear that Bhágavat, the greatest ग्रन्थ of the Vaishnavas was composed during the Gupta age *i. e.* long after Shursena or Birsena (the founder of the Uttarayadu Vansa) had built his Capital at Muttra and established Shiva-worship there at the end of the second century A.D.

“शूरसेनो यदुपतिर्मथुरामावसन् पुरीम् ।

माथुरान् शूरसेनांश्च त्रिषयान् वुमुजे पुरा” ॥

he noticed that the number of monasteries had been reduced very considerably, and by the time Mahmud of Gazni made his expedition to Muttra, the Vaishnava religion had been completely re-established.

2. The Bharsiva Nagas and Bakatakas worshiped that aspect of the Almighty which undertakes destruction of the forces of evil, the God (though giver) keeps no wealth, possesses no material splendour, the God who is austere and sombre. On the other hand, the Guptas invoked that aspect of Vishnu which is royal and rajas, who wears gold and not ashes, who protects and rejoices in plenty, whose emblems are — (1) “चक्र” the symbol irresistibly destroying the forces of evil, (2) “शङ्ख” which announces battle and victory, (3) “गदा” which displays the Sceptre of rule; and (4) “पद्म” which stands for prosperity, growth, and the rejoicings of the people. While a Bakataka and a Pallava would desire no more than to be called a Swami (a master of self having no want), the Gupta would prefer to be called a “Srimāna”*, because that gives him a title to be accepted by the lord. Like a true “Srimāna”, the Guptas filled their kingdom of India with gold and plenty, with prosperity, elegance and culture. They protected the cow, they protected the Brahmin, they restored the vanquished princes to their kingdoms immediately, and they lived for the good of the world. To us it is staggering to conceive of the power of Yoga developed by them. When Kumar Gupta found that he had killed a Jnati, he as a Prayaschitta smilingly threw himself into the pyre of cowdung fire and burnt himself to ashes. Verily Kalidas referred to such deaths when in respect of the Rajas of Raghu Vansa, he used the expression “योगे नान्ते तनुत्यजाम्” I bow my head at the feet of these

आसमुद्र द्वितीशानां आनागरथवर्त्मनां ।

यशसे विजिगीषूणां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजां ॥

GLORIOUS GUPTA KINGS.

* Compare the synonyms for Lakshmi:—

लक्ष्मी, पद्मालया, पद्मा, कमला, श्री, हरिप्रिया”

CHAPTER XXIII

CONDITION OF VARNASHRAMA DHARMA IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE 8TH CENTURY.

As Lord Buddha used to come and live in the Kingdom of Mathura frequently, the place rose into prominence during his life time. After He had passed away it continued to be a Buddhist stronghold, since it contained the most ancient and famous stupa enclosing the nail pairings of the Tathagata, built by the Ven'ble Upa Gupta who converted Ashoka Maurya to Buddhism. In about 150 B.C. Menander, the Greek King of Kabul, who was an ardent Buddhist, annexed the Indus Delta, the peninsula of Surastra of Kathiwar and other territories on the west coast and then occupied Muttra and threatened Pataliputra. Thereafter foreign Potentates, usually known as Satraps, made settlements at Taxila and Muttra and by the end of the 1st century A.D. under their monarch Kadphises II, extended their dominions all over Northern India as far as Benares, tyrannising over their territories from Kabul to Banares through military viceroys. Kaniska further extended their dominion, but as in earlier days he had no faith in right or wrong and was very cruel in his dealings with the Hindus, they could not perform their Kriya Karma according to Shastric rules. It is true that the Nagas destroyed the Kushan power and re-introduced the worship of Shiva, and also the successors of the Nagas, the Guptas, were orthodox Hindus, but as they observed absolute tolerance in the matter of religious faith, they did not issue any order which would result in an immediate change in the habits and customs of the people. So that when Pilgrim Fa Hian came to visit India in the beginning of the 5th century, he found

almost all the people, from the highest to the lowest, as staunch Bauddhas in every province in Northern India through which he passed viz. Kashmir, Kabul, Kandahar, the Punjab, Muttra and Magadh.

2. Barnáshrama Dharma was getting re-established gradually for about a century and a quarter during the Gupta period, but when Skanda Gupta came to the throne, he had to encounter a sea of troubles. The savage Huns poured down from Central Asia and carried devastation over the plains of Northern India. They were beaten back in the first instance, but they renewed their invasion with a fresh swarm of nomads, attacked Skanda Gupta in the very heart of his dominions and overthrew the Gupta Empire in Muttra. Their leader Torman occupied the throne of Malva, and was followed by his son Mihirgula, who was a blood-thirsty tyrant. With his death in 540, the Hun Empire came to an end, but the country was split up into a number of jarring states.

3. With the disappearance of the savage Huns, an opportunity came for the reconstruction of Hindu Society, but this was impossible unless the jarring states were consolidated. Harshabardhan did consolidate them in 620, but as his family had embraced Buddhism, he had no love for the **आचार व्यवहार** of the Barnáshrami Hindus. When therefore the Gurjar Pratihar Rajput prince undertook to assume the role of the protector of Barnáshram Dharma, Pandits and peasants all considered them as thoroughly competent to discharge the heavy responsibility, being descendants of Agnikula royal races; and it is under King Bhoja Dev I, who reigned for 50 years from the middle to the end of the 9th century and who was invested by the Pandits with the title of Adi Baráha (for rescuing the Hindu Shastras

in that age, as Vishnu did with the Vedas in 'His boar incarnation') that Hindu Society was reconstructed and rules were revised and reframed for the performance and regulation of prescribed Kriya Karma.

4. As for East Aryavarta, Magadh having been the centre of Buddhistic activities under the savage Kushans, the आचार व्यवहार of the people living therein and also in the outlying tracts of Tirhut and Mithila, which were administered by the Bauddha Lichchhavis,* and Gaur and Paundravardhan (North Bengal) could not but have been affected. The only place where the Barnashrami Hindus pursued their क्रिया कर्म peacefully was South West Bengal or राढ़, as it is otherwise called, comprising the present districts of Manbhum, Birbhum, Burdwan, Midnapur, Hooghly and Howrah on the western bank of the Bhagirathi with the new settlements that were gradually growing up in the eastern bank of the river. To this area flocked the Ambastha Brahmans for the preservation of their dear religion and culture from the onslaughts of the barbaric hordes. And a safe asylum they did find in the bosom of "सुजला, सुफला, शस्य श्यामला. वङ्गमाता".

5. As the administration of this area was conducted under the direct supervision of the eldest son of the Gupta Emperor (the Prince who would one day step into the Imperial throne), these Brahmans pursued their religious and scholastic careers under his fostering care, and settlements of Brahman villages grew up rapidly, specially near the banks of the Bhagirathi and the Saraswati (there is a river called Saraswati in this part also, at the confluence of that river with the Bhagirathi is Tribeni, a place which is considered as sacred as Prayag).

* In the Mann Smriti (as edited during the post Buddhistic period), the Lichchhavis and Malias of the North Behar have been described as oblique Kshatriyas.

These Brahmans came to be known as Gaur Saraswat Brahmans and they started great seats of learning on the banks of the two sacred rivers. We may imagine that the riverside resounded with Vedamantras and the sacrificial smokes went heavenward from ghat to ghat of the river. Morning and evening, the Gurus and Shishyas and the other people would turn out to the riverside for Sandhya and Gayatri and in the open air discourses would be held on religious matters; and intricate questions relating to grammar, and literature, and Smriti, and philosophy etc., would be discussed and argued threadbare, in which the common people would also join irrespective of their position in social hierarchy. The result of it all was that the intellectual capacity of the people at large was raised to a very high plane, and no where else in India one would find a whole people (including the Harijans) speaking a language which is almost cent. per cent. Sanskrit.

6. In this atmosphere lived the Salbahana Kings, the Mahásámantas and scions of the Imperial Gupta family, and in this soil, the seeds of Vaishnava Cult sown by them, produced a bumper crop. Here flourished the Great Vaishnava, Jayadeva, whose immortal work the *Gita Gobinda* shows the highest pitch reached by Vaishnava's Prema for Lord Sri Krishna. Even after the Mahomedans came, this soil produced a Chandi Dasa, who is the greatest of the Vaishnava poets in Bengali, whose devotional songs sway the audience old and young to this day. Here were born Lord Sri Krishna Chaitanya (accepted as an incarnation of Krishna), Lord Nityananda (incarnation of Balaram, Sri Krishna's elder brother), and Lord Adwaita (incarnation of Mahadeva), and hosts

of other illustrious Gauriya Vaishnava leaders whose preachings and practice have made the Bengalis a proverbially emotional race.*

* In recent times also, this holy soil has produced great Religious Reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, and Keshav Chandra Sen; Saviours of Sanatana Dharma form the onslaughts of votaries of other faiths like Ram Krishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and Swami Krishnananda; great literary geniuses like Bankim Chandra Chatterji (the Rishi of the "Bande Mataram" song) and Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the world renowned poet; and the great political leader, Sir Surendra Nath Bannerji, and many other international luminaries.

CHAPTER XXIV

INTERCOURSE WITH THE SOUTH.

[The facts in this Chapter are chiefly taken from the Gazetteers of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kolaba, Ratna Giri, and North Canara districts].

History records that long before the advent of Lord Buddha, a prince of Bengal sailed away into the sea with 700 companions and ultimately colonised Ceylon which to this day bears his name. The Mauryyas had also a very strong shipping department and Chandra Gupta Mauryya passed the last days of his life as a religious recluse in Mysore, propagating Jaina cult in the South. His successors (also great Emperors) kept up free communication with the South to enquire about his well-being and send out missionary preachers wherever required by him. As the Great Prabhavati Gupta, a princess of the Imperial Gupta family, had, during her widowhood, as a Bakatak Queen, to conduct the Governmental affairs of her two minor sons for about twenty years, she had often to consult the Imperial Guptas in important matters which could be done only by having a free and regular communication with the South through the overseas route. We know that during the reign of the 3rd Kadamba King, Poet Laureate Kalidas visited the Kadamba Court as an ambassador of the great Vikramaditya, and as the result of his stay there, King Kakusth's daughter was married to a grandson of Queen Prababhati Gupta. Emperor Aditya Sen's Queen Kona Devi was also a princess of the South in the 7th century and it is recorded in history that Bengal had trade relations with Goa and other ports under charters given by the Kadamba Kings. It would thus be seen that there was free intercourse of Bengal with the South socially, religiously,

politically and commercially. It is therefore not to be surprised at the tradition that some of the members of the Ruling Sen families of Bengal acted as provincial rulers in Karnat, and some of them again in their old age came back to Bengal to spend their last days on the banks of the Ganges.

2. In Karnatak, the Kadambas of Banabasi, who were Jainas in the beginning, dispossessed the Pallavas in 150 A. D. but they were in their turn overthrown by the early Chalukyas in about 560 A. D. These early Chalukyas were overcome by a collateral branch of the Kadamba family, converted to Hinduism under Mayur Varma towards the end of the 7th century. Mayur Varma's object was to organise the Hindu society on Barnāshram lines according to Smṛiti Shāstras, and also to re-organise the Government so as to secure the maximum degree of efficiency. According to his scheme the country along the west coast was to be governed not only by feudatory Jaina Chiefs but by Brahman Ballals as well. There would be 4 centres, each under a Brahman Governor for supervision and control of these men. Groups of villages would be assigned to the Brahmans who would hold them under the title of Hegades or Ballals, and it was expected that they would exercise their influence for converting non-Brahman Jainas into Shaivites. To work out this scheme, a large number of Brahmans were brought from Northern India in the middle of the 8th century, and the point for consideration is from which part of the country they came. According to the local tradition, it is said that they came from the banks of the Saraswati in Mithila. But in view of the condition of वर्णाश्रम धर्म and आचार व्यवहार prevailing near Magadh at that time, and in view of the fact that Mithila was under the Bauddha Lichchhavis, and the

revival of Sanskrit learning took place there from the latter part of the 11th century only, I am inclined to think that the Guptas on whom the request for the supply of the requisite standard of pure Brahmins must have been made could not but select them from Radh (*vide* previous Chapter). There was no such river as Saraswati in Mithila, whereas that river flowed past Tribeni in South west Bengal (a very great centre of Sanskrit learning in all branches including Smriti, and also a place of sanctity as great as Prayaga). As Tribeni was also the Capital of Saptagram from where the sea-going mercantile vessels sailed, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that those Gaur Saraswata Brahmans who had finished their studies in Smriti were sent to Malabar from Bengal.

3. These Brahmans — who go by the name of Kankanis and Saraswatas — came in two batches. The first on arrival were settled in 66 villages near Goa and gradually moved from there to North and South Canara. They are known as Kankanis. The second batch settled in Kushasthali in South Canara. Both the classes together form more than 33% of the total number of Brahmans in Karnat, and they number as many as 60,000 at present. They are locally known as Senby Brahmans, and are generally Smārtas. Of late they have been showing reforming tendency and are at present occupying positions of influence in Government service and in the professions.

4. My further reasons for concluding that these Brahmans came from Bengal are given below:—

(a) Many of the 32 villages in which the Smarta Brahmans, brought from Bengal were settled by Mayur Varma are still the most important centres of Brahmanism. The principal headquarters of those villages were at Shivalli,

Udipi, Kota, and Koteswar, and these head-quarters also represent the divisions of the (Tulu)* Brahmans.

(1) After their arrival in or about the middle of the 8th century they were at first following their leader "Bhattacharyya". But after about 25 years the Great Shankaracharya was born at Cranganore, which was a village assigned to them. The Advait cult preached by Shankar was accepted not only by these learned people, but it also appealed to all other classes as the numerous gods worshipped by the Dravidians were given a place in his cult as manifestations of Shiva and Parvati. Shankar founded the Singeri Math in Mysore near the borders of Udipi taluq of which the dominant population were the Smarta Brahmans, brought from Bengal. One is therefore led to infer that a Bengal Brahman family, settled in Karnat, had the honour of giving to the world the great Shankaracharya who is taken as an incarnation of Shiva. Shankar's principal disciple, Sanandan of the Chola country addressed him as मिषक्तम in the Sloka :

“मिषक्तम त्वां मिषजां शृणोमी ।

त्युक्तस्य योऽभू दुदितावतारः ” ॥

And this leads us to think that the family to which he belonged was known as मिषक् or वैद्य.

(2) A few miles from Udipi, in a village called Kalyanpur was born the Great Vaishnav Reformer Madhavacharya in 1199 A. D. who placed the worship of Krishna over Shiva and was the preacher of dual† cult. The famous temple of Krishna (which is stated to contain the image of Krishna as originally made by Arjuna himself) was built by him at Udipi (also

* From "Tular" another name for South Canaar.

†This dual cult was preached by Jaydeva in the North one generation before.

a settlement of Bengal Smarta Brahmans) which might claim him as her son. The cult preached by these two intellectual giants was followed by the general body of Brahmans in almost even proportion. The Shivalli and Koteshwar Brahmans followed the cult of Madhavacharaya, while the Havika (or Haiga) and Kota Brahmans followed that of Shankaracharya.

(3) The Hoysala Bullal King Vishnu Vardhan who was apparently the scion of a family of Bengali settlers and was converted to Vaishnavism became a great patron of another great vaishnava reformer, Ramanuja.

From the above it will be seen that the Bengali settlers in their new home preserved and pursued their literary and spiritual culture to perfection and their interpretations of the Shastras, and the cults preached by them, were studied, with the respect due to the Rishis, all over India.

(b) In the literary world, the ladies of the Royal household of Karnat were noted for their literary achievement. In our boyhood, we used to hear from our elders the Kávyáláp between Kalidas and the Karnat Rajpriyá. The present day ladies of the province are maintaining that reputation, *e. g.* we find among them, the all-India leader, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya. These ladies look so like their sisters in Bengal. Owing to their residing for many generations in the comparatively cool shade of the areca-nut garden their complexion is specially fair, but they still retain some of the customs of their original home land. They do not take prominent part in the work of the gardens, and never on any occasion they wear

the end of their cloth passed through the legs and tucked up behind.

(c) In the Uppinagadi taluq there is a valley called *Bangadi* valley which is overlooked from the Ballalraya Durga on the Western Ghat mountains. As *Bangadi* was the seat of Government of one of the officers of the Vijaynagar Government under Harihar Ray, it seems that this place took its name from the people who settled there. The similarity between the words "*Bangadi*" and *Bangali* is most striking. [Mark the grammatical rule "उल्लयोरभेदः"].

(d) In the Udipi taluq, there is a port called *Barkur* which is one of the 4 centres where Brahman Governors, imported from outside, were stationed by the Kadamba King. It is a small port between Coondapur and Daria Bahadur Ghaur and its another name is *Hangarkotta*. Now this latter name is a Bengali expression pure and simple, meaning where one was attacked by a shark. It could not therefore have been given by other than the Bengali settlers. The proximity of Coondapur to this port indicates that the Governor of the Taluq was a Bengali Brahman with "*Kunda*" affix to his name, which is noticeable among the Vaidya Brahmans of Bengal.

It may be noted here that later on this port became the local Capital of the Hoysals Ballal Dynasty.

The port of Coondapur, referred to above, is called "*Gangoli*" which is also a strikingly Bengali word.

(e) There is a small town situated at the mouth of a small stream on an inlet of the Arabian

Sea about 16 miles from Kesargod. It was held by a *Bangar* Raja, even at the time of Tipu Sultan.

(f) Mangalore was the seat of one of the 4 Governors appointed in the 8th century and it was the commercial capital of Tulava. Even when the entire coast was taken by the Portuguese, the town continued to be held by the Bangar Raja whose family had been recognised as underlords by the Vijaynagar dynasty.

(g) As Shakti Puja is a special feature of the Bengal Hindus, the existence of the following temples points to the fact that they were established by the Bengali settlers occupying high positions in Karnat:—

(a) Temple of Mangala Devi at Mangalore.

(b) Temple of Durga at Uppunda.

(c) Temple of Yellamma in Belgaum (about a lakh of pilgrims visit the shrine yearly).

(d) Temple of Durga at Aivalt in the Hungand taluq of Bijapur.

5. The Hoysala Ballals first held power at Dvarsamudra in Mysore. In 1039 A. D. Vinayaditya, the first powerful member of the Ballal family was a Governor under Chalukya King Vikramaditya VI. The 3rd in succession from him — Vishnuvardhan alias Bhatta Dev (1104-41) is said to have taken Banabasi, but according to tradition, the family continued to rule from Barkur in South Canara. One of the strongholds of the family in the Western Ghats overlooking the Bangadi valley is still known by the name of Ballalraya Durg. Apparently one may be excused to infer that Bhatta Dev's

ancestors came from Bengal. Even the word "Bangalore" seems to have originally signified — a settlement of Bangalis.

6. Another noted figure in the history of the Kadambas is Chatta*. Dev who has been variously described as Chatta, Chatti, Chattinga, Kundama and Kündaraja. From the epigraphical records, it appears that all the important titles, borne by the Kadambas, were given to him *e. g.* he was called "the boon-lord of Banabasipura and obtainer of a boon from Chamunda". The safety of the newly founded Chalukya empire having been seriously endangered by the Chola encroachments on the southern frontiers in the early eleventh century, Chatta Dev distinguished himself in the War against the Cholas, and has been praised in the inscriptions in one of which he is described as "Ko-viraja-Raja-Kesari-Varma-Rajraja". In 1012 he was ruling the Banabasi 12,000 and the Santaliga 1,000.

In 1018 the Parmars of Malwa having renewed their encroachment on the Chalukya territories, the Chalukya army led by the feudatory chief Chatta Dev marched northwards as far as the Godavari and completely dispersed the Malwa troops. For this valorous act, he was granted the title of "Guardian of the Highland".

7. From the descriptions given above, it is not unreasonable to infer that—

(a) Chatta Dev was a Bengali Vaidya, for the title "Kaviraj" is peculiar to Bengal generally and to the Vaidyas specially.

(b) He was a devout worshipper of Chamunda,† the giver of power to destroy the Anarya demon. Shakti Puja being also a special

* *Vide* Mr. Maores' "The Kadamba Kula"

† *Vide* "The Kadamba Kula"

feature in Bengal, one may assume that he had attained success in this Sadhan-márga by hereditary culture.

8. The Banabasi province passed into the hands of one Senvarisa* in the reign of the Chalukya emperor Satyasrange early in the 10th century. Towards the middle of the 11th century, Chamunda Rai was appointed Governor of Banabasi province, entered the services of the Chalukyas, led incursions into the neighbouring provinces, and was a terror to the Gurjars the Cholas and the Cheras. He was for some time acting as king of the whole Banabasi province with the capital at Belgami.

For the reasons stated above, I should think that Chamunda Rai's ancestors also came from Bengal.

* "Senvarisha" is perhaps an abbreviated form of "Senvarishtha" (the greatest of the Sens). As the family genealogy of the Sen (feudatory) Kings of Rarh shows that Shuk Dev Sen (the second son of King Ashwapati) "कर्णटे निजराज्यञ्च प्रतिष्ठापितवान् सुधीः" in the first quarter of the tenth century, it appears that this Shuk Sen acquired in the South the honorific appellation of Senvarishtha or in short Senvarisha.

CHAPTER XXV

INTERCOURSE WITH NEPAL

The facts in this Chapter have been collected from the following books:—

1. "The Gurkhas" by W. B. Northey and C. J. Morris and
2. Percival Landon's "Nepal" Vol. I.

Amshu Verman, son-in-law of Shiva Deva (alias Vishvadeva Verman) the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, was, under powers, fully delegated to him by Shiva Deva, virtually the king of the country in 630 to 640. He was a man interested in science and literature, and published the first Sanskrit grammar in Nepal, and his piety and learning have been testified to by Hiuen Tsang. Having given his daughter (Brib Tsun) in marriage to the king of Tibet, he was in close political relationship with him also. It was at the instance of his daughter that Indian art, literature, crafts, and industry were introduced and assimilated in Tibet with the help of Amshu Varma. For this purpose, as also for the general improvement of the tone of administration of Nepal herself, he had to bring out capable administrators and men of learning and piety, and also efficient craftsmen from the Indian plains.

2. Amshu Verman died in 640, and for a time his son-in-law the king of Tibet occupied the Nepal throne, but in 641 that king married the Princess of China as his second wife and went back to Tibet. As owing to the interregnum that followed, efficiency of administration suffered, Vishnu Gupta, the chief of the several administrators whom Amshu Varman had obtained from his overlord — the Imperial Guptas, took charge of the Government in 643 A. D. under the name of Narendra Deva. From Chinese documents, it has been ascertained that the rule of Narendra Deva was marked by a great wave of prosperity and an advance of civilization through-

out Nepal. Commerce flourished; religious edifices and convents, whether Buddhist or Hindu, were sumptuously restored; canals and fountains were erected, and a judicious system of taxation was introduced with the result that in 650, Nepal could be compared with the best administered state in India.

3. Narendra Deva entertained Chinese Travellers more than once, and himself sent a mission to China. He was considered as the Patron Saint of the valley, and under the name "Machendra Nath", he is worshipped by all in Nepal to this day. Fairs are held annually as state functions in honour of the Patron Saint, in which more than a lakh of people join, and which are personally attended by His Majesty, the King of Nepal also.

Attracted by his reputation for piety, many Chinese people visited Nepal continually.

4. Narendra Deva was succeeded in 651 by Baradeva in whose reign there was some oppression of the Buddhists by an orthodox Brahman—That king was succeeded by Shiva Deva II, who married a grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of Emperor Aditya Sen. In 723 Guna Karma Deva came to the throne, and his reign was marked as an era of great prosperity in trade, arts and crafts. It is King Guna Karma Deva who built Kathmandu and founded Patan. With him probably ended the Gupta line of Kings in Nepal, for no further information is available. We find however that towards the end of the eleventh century Ananada Mella was reigning as the King of Nepal. He was driven out and the throne was grasped in 1097 by Nanya Deva, the Karnatic king of of Mithila who retreated from Mithila after the administration of it was taken over by King Bijoy Sen of Bengal.

5. It seems that it is a mistake in the Raj Vamshabali to include the line of King Vishnu Gupta (or Narendra Dev) in the Lichchhavi Dynasty.

CHAPTER XXVI

APAR-MANDAR.

(Another name of Sala Bahana or Nagar).

A pilgrim in the Mandar Hill now sees nothing but ruins* of numerous old buildings, tanks, stone-figures, and large wells for a mile or two around the base of the hill, although they clearly point to the existence of a great city there in the remote past. On being asked as to how the temples and buildings came to be destroyed the local people explain that the temples were pulled down by fanatical Bauddhas during the Pal period and the hill was taken possession of by them as a retaliation for the ill-treatment meted out by Shashanka.

2. Asked what became of the image of Madhusudan in the temple on the top of the hill, thsy say that the image of Madhusudhan could not be destroyed as he leapt into the water of Sitakunda and went direct to Pachet (which is another name of Panchakote).

It is clear from the above description that the image of Madhusudan was carried secretly to Pachet and installed there; and that part of the country (in which this new temple was raised) came to be known as "Apara Mandar" (i. e. another Mandar).

3. The area of Sal Bahan or Nagar or Apar-Mandar was considerable. Of the territorial units in which a kingdom was divided in the ancient days—

the bhukti was the largest ;

after that was the bishaya,

after that was the Mandal

and lastly the Gram.

In the Inscriptions, we often find Paundravardhan as a

* vide gazetteer of Bhagalpur district

bhukti. In Emperor Jibita Gupta II's inscription (*vide* Inscription No. 46 in Dr. Fleet's book quoted above), Nagar has been quoted as a bhukti. We may therefore take it that it was as large as Paundravardhan. It appears that for administrative convenience the tract between the Damodar and the Bhagirathi was cut out and formed into a separate kingdom called "Saptagram" to deal not only with the civil administration of the area but also to control the ports, shipping, and the river force.

4. The area that still remained under the direct charge of the Salbahana Raja was extensive and produced a large amount of revenue. It extended from the North West of Birbhum to south and south east up to the bank of the Hughly in Ulubaria sub-division. As staunch Hindus, the Salbahana Rajas must have possessed a beautiful palace on the bank of the Bhagirathi and in that palace they must have resided from time to time. The site of the palace could not have been other than Betar, situated along the reach of the Bhagirathi from Salkia to the Botanical Gardens. People sailing into the high seas, or coming up the river on return voyage, used to call here and worship Betai Chandi, the presiding Goddess. Cargoes carried in large sea-going vessels were transferred here to small boats for further carriage up the river. It was a large and flourishing town in which a large amount of Customs duty was collected. The name of the town in which this palace of the king of Aparmandar or Mandaran was situated is not known. Perhaps the general public called it "चारम्या नगर" from its enchanting appearance (specially when gaily decked house boats of the princes and notabilities floated on the river on the yearly occasion of the bath in the Gangasagar Sangam in January). We come across the name मन्दार वाटिका

also in some books. But it seems that the Rajas themselves called it "Moksha" because their aspiration in life was that their mortal remains might be burnt to ashes on the bank of the holy river here and the ashes might be thrown into the Ganges so as to be carried from there to the limitless ocean.

5. As in their invasion of Bengal, only the Army of Rajendra Chola marched *overland* while Ananta Varma Chorganga shot in *with a fleet of fighting boats* the fortified town stormed and taken, by Ananta Varma Chorganga, as referred to in J. A. S. B. 1896 Pt. 1, page 241 must have been the above palace. It could not have been the historical गढ़मन्दार of Bankim's Durgeshnandini, which is situated in the Arambagh Sub-Division of Hughly district (about 29 miles from Tarakeshwar) owing to its inaccessibility of approach by sea-going vessels.

CHAPTER XXVII

DOWNFALL OF THE GUPTAS AND RISE OF THE RAJPUT PRATIHARS IN WEST INDIA AND OF THE PALS IN GAUR MAGADHA

1. It has already been stated before that internal dissensions between blood relatives in the three houses of Malav, Kanauj, and Thaneshwar led to war and to the destruction of the Gupta power and the ultimate election of Harshavardhan (a Bauddha) as the Ruling Head of all the three houses with his capital at Madodayasri Kanauj. That king was however killed by one of his courtiers in 647, and the throne of Kanauj passed rapidly from man to man, and dynasty to dynasty, till it was occupied firmly by the Rajput Pratihars.

2. Before the occupation of Kanauj throne by the Pratihars, the dominant religion in the territories ruled by Harshavardhan became Buddhism but in Malava (Western Rajputana), the Pandits still preserved their Brahmanical culture. In the fourth century, the Salibahan king of Birbhumi in Bengal (who subsequently became known as Chandra Gupta II on his ascension on the Magadh throne) established himself here after dispossessing the Huns and assuming the title of Vikramaditya. Vaishnavism flourished here during his reign and the reign of his descendants. Even after the Guptas ceased to rule in Malava the pandits pursued their Kriya-Karma according to the Shastras. They were devoutly praying for the advent of a protector. (प्रतीहार) of their dear religion and for this purpose they looked to a kingdom described as Gurjar, in Ban Bhat's Harshacharit, the Kings of which were described by Hiuen Tsang (in 641 A.D.) as a race of Kshatriyas who lived in a Kingdom to the

north of the Ballavis with a circumference of about 2000 miles and its capital at Pi Lo Mo Le or Bhillamal or Bhinmal about 50 miles north west of Mt. Abu. In the sixth century they were ruling from Nandod in Cutch and by the end of that century, they established their influence in the Punjab and in the area now known as Rajputana. In 712 A. D. King Nag Bhat I of this line of kings defeated the Mlechchha army under Mohammad Bin Kasim, the conqueror of Sind. And it is this king of Gurjar, Naga Bhat,* who was hailed as rescuer of Brahmannya dharma by the Hindu Pandits. Sacrificial Yajnas were performed by them invoking blessings of the gods on the Gurjar house and on the completion of the ceremonies the Gurjar Kings were declared as belonging to the Suryya Vansha. It seems to be possible that this declaration was made not only because after the Chandra Vansha (which then declined in power) it was the turn for the Suryya Vansha to rise, and not only because it was expected by them that the Sun (सूर्य) would be more powerful than the Moon (चन्द्र) but also because it was written in the Márkandeya Chandi that the next Manu (the Great Being who would usher in peace, prosperity, plenty, good will, brotherhood, and godliness among men in this world) would spring from the Sun (सूर्याज्जन्म समासाद्य सावर्णिर्भविता मनु).

3. And these expectations of the Pandits were not belied. Batsa Raj, the third king from Nag Bhat

*After the Baidishik Nagas ruled in Eastern Malwa for about 180 years, their Capital Padmawati was captured by the non-Aryan Shakas, some time in 78 A. D. The Shakas conquered several parts of the territories of the Satkarni Satbahans also in West Malwa and posted their own officers (Kshatrapas) in several places for the conduct of the Civil administration. Prior to this the Nagas had retreated from Padmawati into the wildernesses of the C. P. and consequently Malwa (both east and west) was under the domination of the Sakas for about a century. The Saka rule ended in Eastern Malwa (and also Mathura) with the death of Saka

captured the Kanyakubja throne from the Bhindar kings (who were Bauddhas being close blood relatives of Harshavardhan's descendants) and transferred his capital from Bhinmal to Kanauj in 780 A.D. The great grandson of Batsa Raj was Bhojraj I who ruled at Kanauj for 50 years from about 840 to 890 A.D. extending his territories from South Magadh to the Arabian Sea who was a very learned man and earned the appellation of Adi Varaha, and under whose orders the Hindu Society was reconstructed on Barnashram lines.

4. The offsprings of both the Chandra and the Suryya dynasties came to be known as Rajputas, being descendants of races which had once wielded ruling powers.

king, Basdeo, in 176 A. D. when the Great Hero, Bir (alias Sur) Sen of the Imperial Nag family formed a local Government at Padmawati. In West Malwa, Gautamiputra Satkarni not only reconquered the lost territories but extended the area of his dominion, his dynasty losing its power only after the Hindu inhabitants of Kathiawar elected Rudradaman as their King in 250 A. D.

West Malwa gradually got absorbed in Eastern Malwa under the Imperial Nagas, and after the Bakatak Sens inherited the Nag Empire, administrative control over the area was exercised by the Bakataks from the seat of their Federal Government at Mahishmati, on the bank of the Narmada. The Sakas who still continued to rule in some parts of the province were driven out by the Bakatak king, Prabar Sen as Army General of the Imperial Nagas. Although the Bakataka king together with the last Nag Raja of Padmawati was killed in a battle with Samudra Gupta in about 350 A. D. at Allahabad, the ruling power over the area did not pass away from the Imperial Nagas, as the Gupta king restored the territories completely to the vanquished princes.

The foreign hordes rushed in again towards the end of the 4th century and dispossessed the Hindu ruling houses, and there was a sea of trouble for the Hindus. The Shalbahan Raja (who assumed the name of Chandra Gupta II after ascension on the throne at Magadh and Ajodhya) occupied Malwa and took possession of the territories belonging to Kushan Maha-kshatrapa Rudra Sing of Ujjaini, and under the name of Vikramaditya the Great settled in Malwa with his capital at Ujjaini.

West of this new kingdom of Vikramaditya the Great was Gurjar which was being ruled by the descendants of the Imperial Nagas prior to the new invasion of the foreign hordes in the latter part of the 4th century. As his queen was a princess of the Imperial Naga family, he reinstated the Nagas on the throne of Gurjar, and converted them

5. Divested of the Imperial status, the scions of the dynasty founded by Chandra Gupta (known in history as चन्द्र or सोम वंश) who were then living in the territories formerly ruled by their ancestors in Kanauj, Rajputana, Malva and Gujrat had no right to continue any longer the use of the name-suffix of Gupta. They lived like common people in these tracts, but it appears that some of them started sufficiently powerful kingdoms at some distance in the South *e.g.* the kingdoms of Traikutakas in the south of Kathiawar, and Chedis (or Kalchuris) extending from Jabbalpur towards the east as far as Sirguja.

6. The fall of the Guptas in the West had its inevitably disastrous effect on the Gupta power in Gaur Magadh. With the consolidated power gone, that country was being harassed by the invasions of (1) Yashovarma of Kanauj (2) Harshadev of Kamrup and (3) the Gurjar Parihar King Butsa Raj. The Gupta Samantachakra (*vide* list in Appendix to Chapter XXVIII) led by the Shalbahan king at Nagar (who was the Mahasamanta of the

(originally Saivas) as well as the people in general to Vaishnavism. Under the auspices of the Gupta kings of Ujjaini (i. e., the descendants of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya) and of the Bakataka Sens of Mahishmati (i. e., descendants of Princess Prabhavati Gupta, a daughter of Vikramaditya), Hinduism, specially of the Vaishnavite type was gradually getting re-established in that part and the Gurjar rulers thereafter came to be called as Nag-bhats (i. e., Bhats or learned Brahmins of the Imperial Nag family).

It is true that the plains of Northern India were overrun by the savage Huns once again in about the middle of the 5th century and their leader Torman occupied the Malava throne, but the rule of the Huns ended after the death of the bloodthirsty king Mihirgula in 540. The progress of absorption of foreign hordes in the body of Hindu Society continued under the Kings of Gurjar.

The Bakataka Sens were succeeded by the Chalukyas in the 6th century and they also continued to exercise administrative control over Gurjar from Mahishmati but the Chalukyas lost the power of overlordship over the Naga king of Gurjar and acquired the name of Solankis.

Empire) decided to improve the situation by strengthening the central government at Gaur. Gopal, a wise and learned Brahman and also a skilful warrior, (who was also the son of a great warrior) was elected as King towards the end of the 8th century. It should not be a puzzle to us to see how a man with a "Pal" name-suffix could be elected king, since the Pals, we now meet with, are generally non-Brahmans. As I have already explained the word "Pala" means the president of a republican gana and it does not indicate a caste. The last independent Brahman kings of Afghanistan had the name-suffix of "Pal" to their names. From pages 109 and 110 of the Kangara District Gazetteer (Vol. VII) it will be seen that a Brahman of Bengal with the name-suffix of "Pal", founded, in the latter part of the 13th century, a kingdom in the Ravi Valley of Himalayas called "Bangahal" with its capital at "Birbangahal". The descendants of that Brahman Pal Raja ruled the state for twenty generations previous to Prithvi Pal who was murdered in 1728.

7. Gopal became the founder of the dynasty known to history as the Pal dynasty. The second and the third kings of the dynasty — Dharma Pala and Deva Pala respectively were particularly very powerful. Their reigns extended for about a century, and they raised Bengal to

Under the Nagbhats, Gurjar remained a Hindu kingdom without further molestation from the foreign hordes, so that when Hiuen Tsang came in the 7th century he found Gurjar under the rule of a Kshatriya (i. e., a Hindu Raja).

My inference therefore is that Nag-bhat, the founder of the Suryavansi Rajputs was a Brahman and a descendant of the Imperial Nagas. This view is supported by the fact that one of the early Rajas of Chotogarh (before the foundation of Udaipur by his descendants) was Deva Sarma Bhattarak whose son gave up the Surname of Bhattarak, but retained "Rana",— Vide "The Gurkhas" by Northey and Morris. From page, 90, Vol. II, of Rose's Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, it also appears that a Bhat (learned Brahman) of Bhatner ruled in Jasalmir and his race belonged to Yaduvansa i. e., to the line of Sura Sena Nag.

the rank of the foremost power in India at the time. So that Dharma Pal was able to pull down one King of Kanauj and set up another in his place. The Pals were devoted adherents of Buddhism, and zealous enough to send Dipanker Sri Jnan and other missionaries to Tibet to revive Buddhism there. But they were also particularly tolerant in the matter of religious faith of the people. It appears however that towards the beginning of the tenth century some fanatical Buddhists destroyed the famous temple of Madhusudan on the Mandar hill in South Magadh, which engendered a strong feeling of resentment against the Buddhists in the Hindu mind. Raja Lakshmi Narayan was then the Salbahan King at Nagar. He belonged to the orthodox Hindu family which had built that temple. Without going to war with the Pals (his overlord), he managed matters diplomatically. His diplomatic moves in the courts of other Hindu kings were so cleverly conducted that Yasho Varma Chandel made an invasion on Gaur, the Gurjars reconquered Magadh, while the Kambojas from the hills overran and occupied North Bengal, installing a temple of Shiva in 966 A. D. in the heart of the Pal dominion. It being a religious warfare, the reigning Pal Emperor at the time (Bagraha Pal the 2nd) could not get full co-operation of his Mahasamanta, the king of Salbahan and the result was that the Baudha Emperor had to lose Gaur and seek shelter with the Shalbahana king in Radh. On reassurances being given by him of full freedom of conscience to the people in the matter of religious faith without any molestation whatsoever from any body.

- (a) The Pal usurpers of the Mandar hill were cleared out, and the temple on the top of it was rebuilt (not on its original grand scale, of course).

(b) Brahmans were brought from Kanauj to perform a Yajna and to re-organise the Hindu society.

8. The entire armed force in the hands of the Salbahan Raja was then placed at the disposal of the Emperor. So that his son and successor, the first Mahi Pal (who reigned from about 970 to about 1025 A.D.) reconquered,—

Banga and Samatat	before	the end of the 3rd Year
Magadh	"	" " 7th "
Tirbhukti	"	" " 49th "

and Benares thereafter.

For these achievements Raja Lakshmi Narayan of Sal Bahan was thenceforward known to the Hindus as *Adisur* and the Ruling dynasty at Nagar came to be known as the Sur dynasty. The composition of Adisur's quarrel with the Pal Emperor was however not to the liking of the Chola Raja of Kalinga. It has been stated before that the founder of this family was a Brahman, a Kinsman of the Imperial Guptas and he was settled in Kalinga by Samudra Gupta as his feudatory chief. A princess of the Chola family (Kona Devi) was married to Emperor Aditya Sen, and the great temple of Madhusudan on the Mandar Hill was built by the King and Queen at the suggestion of the Chola Raja who it appears bore a substantial part of the cost. Rajendra Chola, the then reigning Chola Raja, was therefore bent on taking revenge on both the Pal Emperor and the "Sur" family and made a raid on Benaal between 1021 and 1025 in which he defeated the Kings of Orissa, Koshala, Dandabukti, Dakshin-Rarh (*i.e.* Nagar), Banga, and also Mahi Pal himself in Uttar-Rarh. Barendra Sur who was then reigning as a feudatory Raja of Banga (Bikrampur) fled towards the east after this defeat. When Rajendra had

gone back, Barendra Sur's brother, Rana Sur (the King of Rarh at Nagar), took over his kingdom, but both the kingdoms were temporarily lost soon afterwards during the Koibarta Revolt. It may be stated here that another Raja of Kalinga Chola family viz. Raja Ananta Varma Choreganga, on hearing that after the quelling of the Koibarta Revolt, LakshmiSur (Rana Sur's grandson) had again occupied the Apar Mandar throne, as a vassal of the Pal King, made a raid on Bengal in about 1094 during the reign of Kumar Pal, this time not overland, but with a fleet of fighting boats destroyed the Mandar King's palace on the bank of the Ganges, made him flee from his palace, levied taxes on both sides of the river, and destroyed Rangamati, the capital of Uttarrah. This Ananta Varma Choreganga ultimately built the great temple of Jagannath at Puri.

9. The last powerful King of the Pal line was Ram Pala (father of Kumar Pal) who with the aid of his Samanta Chakra quelled the Koibarta Revolt, and killed the Rebel Bhima, and also separately conquered Kamrup.

10. The Pals on the whole ruled for about four centuries and a half and then they were uprooted by the Mohamedans in 1197. A genealogical table of the family will be found at the end of Chapter XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SURA DYNASTY OF RARH (SAME AS SALBAHAN RAJAS OF NAGAR).

AN OFF-SHOOT OF THE GUPTA KINGS.

In the coin struck by Raja Shashanka, he described himself as a *Mahisamanta* i.e. an overlord of a number of other *Sámanta* states. He ruled in Rarh and Karna Subarna which, as we have seen, subsequently acquired a new name viz. Aparmandar. Poet Sandhyá Kar Nandi in his *Ram Charita*, written after the Kaibarta Revolt, described the King of Aparmandar as समस्ताटविक सामन्त चक्रवर्ती i.e. overlord of all the feudatory kings in the forest areas, meaning of course all the Tributary states from Pachet to Orissa. As there was no other Mahasamanta within the empire, it is correct to assume that the duties and responsibilities entrusted to the Mahasamanta established in this area continued unbroken from the beginning of the Gupta empire. And there were good reasons for it. The Salbahana throne, which was but a stepping stone to the Imperial throne was from the days of Samudra Gupta reserved for the yuvaraja of the family as it afforded him the best training ground. Here he would be in touch with the states which were situated close to him. He would be living in an area in which the Imperial Army were mainly recruited and trained. He would have opportunity of attending to the manoeuvres of land and river forces. He would look to the profitable working of the numerous mines with which the whole territory was dotted, and, which was considered to be most important of all, here-not far away from the holy Ganges,—he would spend his time in the company of selfless and learned

pandits whose advice would be of inestimable value to him, not only spiritually, but from every other point of view.

2. On the foundation of the Pal dynasty in the 8th century, however, Aparmandar ceased to be the recruiting ground for the Imperial throne of Gaur, although the Aparmandar King continued to be the "समस्ता विक्रसामन्त चक्रवर्ती" Succession to the throne of Aparmandar at Nagar, therefore, became hereditary thenceforward. We are now pretty certain that the Salbahan Rajas or the Surs (*i.e.* the Mahasamantas) were the direct descendants of the Imperial Guptas, but can they be linked? To consider this point we have to see (*a*) whether the reign of the last of the Imperial Gupta Kings synchronises with the commencement of the first Pal Emperor? and (*b*) whether a genealogy of the Sura family is available to link Adi Sur with the last Gupta King.

3. As regards (*a*), Vincent Smith considers that Gopala Deva ruled for 50 years from 740 to 790, while the late Rakhal Das Banerji was of opinion that he ruled for 10 years only from 785 to 795. As normally a period of 10 years' rule would be expected of a man only much too advanced in life, to assume the responsibilities of running an Empire, beset with difficulties, it would perhaps be safe to assume that Gopal Deva ruled for a period of at least 25 years and to fix the commencement of his reign in the year 770. Now let us see whether this fits in with the year of reign of the last Gupta King. From inscription No. 43, in Fleet's *Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III it appears that a military officer named Salpaksha installed an image of the Sun-god on the Mandar Hill in 671 or 673 A.D. when Emperor Aditya Sen was alive. As his father was a contemporary of Harshavardhan who died in 646 A.D., and Aditya Sen

became an independent King after that year, the latter was an old man in 671 A.D., and we would assume that he lived up to 675 A.D. only. Since then the names of the following Kings have been discovered, and the relationship of father and son has been established between the first three :—

- Aditya Sen
= Kona Devi (about 645-674)
|
1. Deva Gupta
= Kamala Davi
|
2. Vishnu Gupta II
= Ijja Devi
|
3. Jibita Gupta II
= (d. 730)
|
4 and 5. { Chandra Gupta III
Jaya Gupta

Assuming that the period of their reign extended on an average over 20 years, the last king's reign would take us to the year of commencement of the 1st Pal Emperor. I therefore, think that we need not look forward to the discovery of coins bearing any other Gupta king's name.

4. As it is sad to think that a dynasty which started with a Chandra Gupta would also have ended with a Chandra Gupta, I would for the present take Jaya Gupta as the last Gupta king of Gaur.

5. In the absence of a record of the period of reign of king Adisur whether in the shape of copper plates, or inscriptions, or coins or victory records, we have got to fall back on, the Kulagranthas which, though composed many centuries after the king had passed away

(and published only during the last two hundred years) are unanimous in saying that there was a king by name "Adi Sur" in Bengal who brought five Brahmans from outside the province to officiate as priests in the performance of certain yajnas. The writers of these books however hold different opinion as to when these Brahmans came to Bengal. Their opinions may be divided into two classes *viz.*

- (1) That Adisur flourished before the Pals occupied the Magadha throne, becoming a king of Pancha Gaur including Kanauj in the Saka year 654 or 732 A. D.
- (2) that he ruled over Gaur (after the Pals were driven out) in 942 A. D.

Examining Opinion No. 1 we find that in about the year 730 A.D. the reigning king at Kanyakubja was Yashovarma, who killed Jibita Gupta, emperor of Gaur-Magadh, forced the king of Bengal to swear allegiance to him, and founded a town in Magadh, named Yashovarmapur. This Yasho Varma was defeated and dethroned by Lalitaditya, king of Kashmere, and after that Kanyakubja passed into the hands of the Gurjar Pratihars in about 780 A.D. There is therefore no case for assuming that Adisur became king of all the five Gaurs including Kanyakubja in 732 A.D. Opinion No. 2 has been expressed in the Kulagranthas—"Biprakula-Kalpalata" and the "Kularama" which say that Adi-sur was born in 894 A.D. and ascended the throne in 942 A.D. In the previous Chapter it has already been stated that owing to the desecration and destruction of the temple of Madhusudan on the Mandar hill, the Hindu powers invaded Gaur-Magadh from all sides during the reign of 2nd Brigraha Pal (about 945-970) with the result that he was driven out of Gaur and had to seek shelter with the Mahasamanta king at Nagar. The latter then successfully secured autonomy in social

and religious matters for all Hindus in the Pal Empire and must have got the Bauddhas cleared out of the Mandar Hill. If we take Adisur to be this Mahasamanta, the year 942 as the year of the commencement of his reign, fits in nicely, and there seems to be no ground to reject it.

6. Taking 770 A.D. as the year of termination of King Jaya Gupta's reign and 942, as the year of commencement of Adisur's reign, there is a hiatus of 170 years during which at the average rate of 4 kings per century, a line of 7 kings must have ruled at Nagar.

7. From a copy of the **सद्वयकुल चन्द्रिका** (published by Babu Jatindra Mohan Gitacharyya Smriti Shastri of 91 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta written in Sanskrit by Jayasen Biswas Thakur in 1305 A.D. (of which a copy, taken in 1515 A.D. is still in existence, and the date of the copy of which has been certified to be correct by the late learned Historian Rakhal Das Bannerji from the condition of its paper and lettering) I have been able to collect the names of only 2 kings above Adi-sur, although the author has described the Sur family as the dynasty of the Salbahan Kings. I have no doubt in mind that the two lines are one and the same. Pending the supply of names of the five or six earlier kings, therefore, I have prepared a genealogical table of the Sur family from the facts contained in this book and included the same in this Chapter.

GENEALOGY OF THE IMPERIAL PAL DYNASTY OF GAUR

Dayita Vishnu (A most erudite scholar in all subjects, who lived near the Sea Coast)

Bapyata (A most skilful warrior).

1. Gopala Deva
(Reigned in the latter part of 8th century from about 770 to 795).
- { Elected Emperor of Magadha by the Samanta-Chakra, of which the Mahasamanta at Nagar, or Shalbahan Raja, was the most important member.

2. Dharma Pala.
= (Rashtra Kuta King Parabal's daughter Rama Devi).
(From about 795 to about 825).
(Conquered the whole of Northern India, and placed Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj).
- Bak Pal.

Tribhubana Pal
(Died while a Prince).

3. Deva Pala (825-865)
(i) Annexed and settled the Delta.
(ii) Ruled over Anga, Banga and Magadh.
(iii) Defeated —
(a) Second Nag Bhat's son Rambhadra in Vindhya Valley.
(b) Rashtrakuta Govinda III.
(c) The Huns, the Utkals, and the Kambajas.
(iv) Perhaps Kanauj was occupied by Rajput Bhoja Dev I, towards the end of this reign.
Rajya Pal. (Died young.)

4. Jay Pal (865-870) Conquered Kamrup.
5. Shura Pal or Bigraha Pal I. (870-875)
= Chedi Raj daughter Lajja Devi.
(Had to part with Magadh and part of Tirhoot on suffering reverse from Bhoja Dev-Pratihara).
6. Narayan Pal. { Ruled for more than 50 years (875-925)
 { Ruled Gaur, Banga and Magadh.
7. Rajya Pal = (Rashtrakuta) Tunga's daughter Bhagya Devi (925-935):
(i) Ruled Gaur and Banga.
(ii) Excavated large tanks.
(iii) Built many lofty temples.
8. Gopala II. (935-945).
(i) Rescued a part of his father's lost territories.
(ii) Installed the image of Bagishwari at Nalanda.
9. Bigraha Pal II. (945-970)
(i) Yashodharman Chandella invaded Gaur.
(ii) The Gurjar Raj reconquered Magadh.
(iii) Barendri and North Bangal were overrun by Kamhojas.

10. Mahi Pal I. (970-1025)

(i) Inherited only a part of Rarh and Barendra—conquered and extended empires in Magadh, Tirhoot and Benares.

(ii) Invasion of Rajendra Chola and the Chedis.

11. Naya Pal
(1025-1040)

(Invasion of Gaur by the Chedi King Karna and by the Karnatics).

12. Bigraha Pal III.
(1040-1047)

= Yaubana Sri

(i) Defeated Chedi King Karna, who then gave his daughter Yaubana Sri in marriage to him.

(ii) The Kaibarta Revolt.

13. Mahi Pal II.

(a) An oppressive King
(b) The Samanta Princes revolted.

(c) Killed by Dibya's nephew, Bhima (1047-50)

Sthir Pal

Basanta Pal.

14. Sura Pal II.

(King for a very short, while)

15. Ram Pal (1050-90)

(i) In the beginning kingdom confined to the Delta.

(ii) With the help of the Samantas killed Rebel Bhima.

(iii) Conquered Kamrup with Mathari's aid.

(iv) Constructed a capital called Ramauti.

(v) Conquered Utkal and Kalinga, made over Utkal to the Nag Raja.

(vi) Conquered Kamrup.

(vii) Died on the bank of the Ganges.

Rajya Pal
(Did not ascend the throne.)

16. Kumar Pal (1090-1095)

(i) Rebellion of Kamrup Raja Tinga.

(ii) Invasion of Ananta Varma Choraganga.

(iii) Bijoy Sen of Rarh's attempt to be independent.

3rd Gopal
(assassinated)

Govind Pal

17. Madan Pal

= Chitra Matrika Devi
[Defeated by Bijay Sen (1095-1100) Pal Empire became confined within the limits of East Magadh and Gaur (North Bengal)].

(We see him alive in South Magadh in alliance with the Garhwal Jai Chandra of Kanauj at the time of King Lakshmana Sen, but his relationship with the earlier Pal Kings has not been established. Bakhtiyar conquered Magadh from him.)

GENEALOGY OF THE SUR RAJAS OF RARH

OR

SALBAHAN RAJAS OF NAGAR.

(An Off-shoot of the Imperial Guptas).

1. 770—800
2. 800—820
3. 820—840
4. 840—860
5. 860—880
6. 880—900
7. Pratap Chandra — 900-920
8. Tejas Shekhar — 920-942
9. Lakshminarayan * * * "Adi Sur" 942-960. = Chandramukhi Devi.
 (a) Prime Minister—Budha Sen. (b) Other Ministers :—
 1. Sumati Gupta. 2. Shakti Dhar Sen.
10. Bimal or Bhanu Deva * * * "Bhushur" 960-975.
 = daughter of Sumati Gupta.
 Mahasandhi Bigrhika. "Rishi" Chandra Shekhar
11. Kumar alias Aniruddha * * * "Kshiti Sur" 975-990 Ruler
 of Rarh, Banga and Gaur.
 Prime Minister (son of Rishi Chandra Shekhar.)—
 Bishwanath Kaviraj
12. Mukunda or Pratap Rudra * * * "Dhara Sur" 990-1005
 |
 |-----|
 |
 13. Gobinda or "Pradyumna Sur" Balaram or "Barendra Sur"
 or Rana Sur (a) King of Rarh (King of Gaur and Banga)
 (1005-1025) (b) (After his Fled towards the east on
 brothers' flight) King of Chola invasion.
 Rarh, Banga and Gaur.
 |
 14. Gadadhar — "Anu Sur" (Deprived of Kingdom by Dibya)
 (1025-1045)
 |
 |-----|
 |
 15. Chakradhar — "Lakshmi Sur" Giridhar (lived in the
 (1046-1094) Southern forest)
 (i) Fled to the Eastern Daughter Bilasi Devi
 Forest of Samatata. = King Bijoy Sen
 (ii) Then assuming the name of (about 1080).
 "Lakshmi Sur", sat on the
 throne of Apar Mandar as
 a Samanta of the reigning
 Pal King (about 1080)?
 (iii) On the invasion and destruction of his palace on the
 bank of the Bhagirathi by Ananta Varma Chora
 Ganga (in about 1094) fled to the Southern forest.

Appendix to Chapter XXVIII.

SAMANTA CHAKRA OF THE GAUR EMPIRE.

(Towards the end of the Pal reign)

(compiled from Sandhyakara Nandi's Ramacharita)

	Remarks.
(a) Under the direct administration of the Emperor.	{ Uttar Rarha with capital at Rangamati.
(b) Under the supervision of the Maha Samanta whose capital was at Nagar (who was also known as the Salbahana King).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Salbahan or Nagar or Aparmandar. 2. Magadh and Pithi { Pithi perhaps means the tract known as Pir Paiti in Bhagalpur. 3. Saptagram { With capital at Tribeni for administration of tracts on the river bank of the Bhagirathi. 4. Panchakote. { In Manbhum district. 5. Danda Bhukti { A part of Midnapur. A Raja of this place once conquered Orissa. 6. Kunjabati { Apparently "Kukrahati" near present Mahishadal Raj in Midnapur. The Raja had the name suffix of Pal. 7. Tailakampa { At present Telkupi in Manbhum. 8. Uchhal { Same as Ujani near Kogram in Mangalkot Pargana (Border of Birbhum & Burdwan districts) on the river Ajoy. 9. Bal Balavi { From the inscriptions, the place appears to have been within the Nagar-bhukti.

(c) Samanta Princes in direct political relationship with the Emperor.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 10. Dhekkuri | Perhaps in Rajshahi district. |
| 11. Kaya Mangal | Perhaps the same as Koyalgarh in Saran near Hutwa Raj. |
| 12. Sangkat | Perhaps the abbreviated form of Samatat in East Bengal. |
| 13. Nidrawal | Perhaps the same as Nadawal in Patna. |
| 14. Kaushambi | The area which was washed by the water of the Koshi river i.e., the newly formed Kingdom of the Chalukyas in Purnia. |
| 15. Padubamba. | Perhaps the same as Pachamba in Hazaribagh. |

CHAPTER XXIX

MISAPPREHENSION OF THE MEANING OF CERTAIN EXPRESSIONS IN COMMON USE IN THE HINDU SOCIETY.

As most of us have no clear idea of the actual import of the following words, although they are of so common use, I consider it necessary to deal with them here with reference to their context in the previous pages :—

1. *VARMA*.

According to the interpretation at present given to the word, there is an impression that the person using it as a name-suffix, belongs to the Kshatriya caste *i. e.*, to the second rank of Hindu hierarchy, but that is not correct in all cases.

From the Talagunda* inscription of the Kadamba Kings, it is seen that one Mayur Sharma who was born in a learned Brahmin family went together with his guru to Conjeeveram to prosecute the study of the Vedas. While there, he trained himself in warlike exercises also, and then entered into the service of the Pallavas, and gradually became a General. In the confusion that prevailed in the country after the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta, he established himself as an independent ruler styling himself as a *Varma*. There are other numerous instances in which Brahman princes have used this word as a name-suffix from generation to generation. The actual significance of the term is that it imposes on the person (styling himself as a *Varma*) the liability of standing by the Imperial Government at the time of trouble.

2. *SINGHAS AND KESARIS.*

Both the words are synonymous and mean that the person using them is the वाहन (carrier.) of महाशक्ति to subdue the forces of evil. It does not mean that he should invariably be a member of the second rank of the Hindu hierarchy i. e., a Kshatriya by caste.

3. *KSHATRIYAS.*

Ever since the Brahmans had a discussion with Lord Buddha at Gaya over the question of relative superiority between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the Brahmans did not consider it a reproach to call themselves Kshatriyas when they were called upon to assume the responsibilities and duties of a king. The Pallavas who turned the south into a second Kashi trace their descent from Vir Kurcha, a son of Vindhya Shakti, who has been described in the writings on the Ajanta Cave and elsewhere as the great *Brahman* General of the Naga Emperors. This Vir Kurcha's elder brother was the great Bakatak Emperor, Prabar Sen who crushed the Kushan power and performed Brihaspati Yajna which is open only to the Brahmans. Prabar Sen's eldest son was Gautamiputra Satbahana who in the Nasik Prasasti has been called as the "unique" Brahman, a destroyer of the pride and conceit of Kshatriyas. (See Rai Chowdhury's Political History of Ancient India, published by Calcutta University, 3rd edition, pages 280-1.) The descendants of Gautamiputra's uncle Vir Kurcha who was invested with the insignia of royalty and enthroned king of Andhra under the appellation "Pallava" (meaning an off-shoot of the Bakatakas) were therefore Brahmans beyond doubt, but in their inscriptions they proudly say that they raised their position by austere political deeds and became *Kshatriyas*. The term "Kshatriyas" here does not of course mean their demotion to the second

rank of the Hindu hierarchy. It is used simply as an equivalent of "King". In this sense the term "Kshatriya" is in common use in the south, but their आचारव्यवहार are regulated according to the Brahmanical rites, as their kinsmen would still continue to call themselves as Brahmans.

From Madras Epigraphist Inscription No. 88 of 1910, written in Tamil and discovered in Tiruvellarai near Trichinopoly, it is seen that Pallava King Danti-Nandi Varman (who belonged to the 1st half of the 9th century) is reported therein to have belonged to Brahma * Kshatriya family. The inference therefore is that Brahma Kshatriya means a Brahman who conducts himself like a Kshatriya *i. e.*, a Militant Brahman.

4. *NAGAS*

This name-suffix is no longer seen among Brahmans. But from the earlier chapters of this book, it will be seen that the Vidisa Nagas, and the Nagas of Nagpur Nandivardhan, and Purika were Brahmans and their descendants are still to be seen among the Nagar Brahmans of the C. P. and the Western Presidency. They were the protectors of Brahmanya Dharma and it is they who drove out the non-Aryan barbarians, the Kushans. In the Devagiri plate of the Kadamba king, Krishna Varma I, the family of that king has been connected with the Nagas, and Mr. Moraes has considered it to be a sufficient evidence to conclude that they were of Dravidian origin and doubt the correctness of the claim of the royal families of the Deccan to the Northern extraction. But this inference is wrong. The founder of the Kadamba House was undoubtedly of Brahman origin. That Mayur Sharma was a Brahman has been specifically mentioned in the Talgunda Inscription.

* For this information I am indebted to Mr. R. Gopalan, M.A., Librarian, Imperial Secretariat Library, New Delhi.

Therefore the Nagas would necessarily be Brahmans and as daughters could not be given away in marriage to a person of lower *Varna*, it follows that Chandra Gupta II (or Vikramaditya the Great) who married Princess Kuber Naga was also a Brahman.

5. *CHANDRA VANSa OR SOMA VANSa*

"Chandra Gupta" is a hallowed name in the south. The first Chandra Gupta — Chandra Gupta Maurya — had abdicated, a far flung empire extending from ocean to ocean and passed the rest of his life as a religious recluse in the south, preaching religious sermons among the people. The second Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty had never been in the south, but people saw his son, Samudra Gupta, who conquered every kingdom, large or small, within the Peninsula by hard fought battles, keeping not an inch of ground for himself. He reinstated the vanquished princes to their states unconditionally. Instances of such grand spectacular sacrifices are rare in history. Consequently persons making such sacrifices were invested with a sort of divinity and were considered as supermen in society. Stories in respect of such men go down to posterity from generation to generation with embellishments given from time to time, and this process came into operation in the case of the Imperial Guptas also. The name of the founder of the family having been Chandra Gupta, his descendants came to be known as belonging to the Chandra Vansa or Sôma Vansa and that Vansa was looked upon as very sacred. In the south, the word "Vallal" means a person coming from the highest stratum of society. So many members of this Chandra or Sôma Vansa came to be called by the name "Vallal". That a Sôma Vansa was in existence in Karnat in the eleventh century would appear from the fact recorded in Maores' History of

Kadamba Kula where it is described that Permadi Deva, son of Jaikehsi II (a Goa Kadamba) married princess Kamala Devi, daughter of Kama Deva of the Sôma Vansa. This Chandra Vansa or Sôma Vansa of the Southern India should not therefore be confounded with the Lunar Dynasty mentioned in the Mahabharata. Nor should it be confounded with the Solar and lunar dynasty given to the Rajputas in Northern India in the 9th century.

From page 412 of Rai Chowdhuri's Political History of Ancient India published by Calcutta University it will be seen that Gupta dynasties connected with the Imperial line ruled in the Kanara districts in the 12th and the 13th centuries also. They claimed descent from Chandra Gupta, Lord of Ujjaini in numerous inscriptions.

7. GUPTAS

It has been explained in the beginning of this book that the word "Gupta" was an abbreviation of the word "Goptá" and meant "a protector of Brahmanya Dharma" in ancient times. It could be used only by the most learned Brahmans, and the kings. In course of time, when the Guptas of Magadh became the emperors of India, the kings who were feudatories to them could not use it as the name-suffix. Even in the Imperial Gupta time, when Aditya Sen had to take the oath of allegiance to Harshavardhan, he dropped the use of the Gupta suffix. His descendants resumed its use only after Harshavardhan's death and the restoration of the family to its original imperial status.

In the 9th century after reconstruction of Hindu Society on Varnashrama lines during the reign of the Rajput Pratihara Maharaja Bhojraj, the Adi Varsha, the Vaisyas (the occupants of the third rank in Hindu society)

were permitted to use the name suffix of either (1) Datta, or (2) Bhuti, or (3) Dhana-Gupta (which was subsequently abbreviated into Gupta), the third alternative suffix implying a hoarder of wealth acquired by trade, and agriculture, etc.

As the Vaidyas of Bengal (who were kinsmen of the Imperial Guptas) were using the suffix from time immemorial by virtue of their learning and avocation (as physicians) they continued to use it after the above fiat went forth from the Kanauj Court, specially because that fiat did not obviously imply that persons already using the name-suffix of "Gupta" should be treated as "Vaisyas". Several centuries afterwards some of the Pandits appear to have been bewildered with the question,— "why the Vaidyas should be treated as Vaisyas although (i) by their avocation, learning and force of character they are entitled to be Brahmans and (ii) by the valorous deeds done in war in the past they are entitled to be placed in the category of Kshatriyas?" Prima facie, the question was complicated and its solution depended on the research for the reasons for the first introduction of the word "Gupta" in the remote past. The Mahomadans had come by that time, the country was in confusion and turmoil, and the pundits lost touch with the affairs outside their province. The troublesome research was not undertaken, and the gordian knot was cut by penning the following couplet and surreptitiously inserting it into the Skanda Purana :—

सत्ये वैद्याः पितुस्तुल्याः त्रेतायाञ्च तथा स्मृताः ।

द्वापरे क्षत्रवत् प्रोक्ता कलौ वैश्योऽपि स्मृताः ॥

And this was done in spite of the fact that the Vaidyas were then using the suffix "Sharma" on ceremonial occasions, vide page 248 of the late Rakhal Das Banerjee's

History of Bengal (Vol. 1) in Bengali, published in 1321 B.S. No reasons have been assigned as to why a class possessing the highest culture, nobility of character, aristocratic mode of life, who never stoop to do any disreputable work should suffer demotion in the social scale from age to age, and the absurdity of the interpolated sloka is so patent that it does not require a moment's scrutiny to condemn it as worthless. In the Puranas and Upapuranas, and in interpreting the Shastras many cock and bull stories were spun round this point in the 15th and the 16th centuries (*i.e.* long after the Guptas and Sens had ceased to reign), some raising the Vaidya to the seventh heaven as a demi god and some singing hymns of hate against him. A seeker after truth has got to brush aside these cobwebs of fiction before he can find out the fact. It will be seen that there is a world of difference between the suffix "Gupta" as used by the Imperial Guptas and the Vaidyas (the significance of the suffix being "a protector of Brahmanya dharma".) and the suffix "Gupta" used by the Vaisyas (which means a hoarder of wealth acquired by trade, agriculture, and similar money earning occupations). And confusion should not be made between the two words. It is well that the Vaidyas have started adding the word "Sharma" after the suffix "Gupta" to facilitate this distinction.

7. RAJPUTS

In former times, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time Rajputs. If the ancestors were Brahmans, their descendants should necessarily be Rajput Brahmans and if the ancestors were Kshatriyas the descendants are entitled to the second rank in the Hindu Social hierarchy. It will thus be seen that all Rajputs do not belong to the Kshatriya Varna.

THE KARNATIC SENS

CHAPTER XXX

RETURN OF THE KARNATIC SENS TO BENGAL

From the Gazetteer of Hooghly and Howrah districts, it appears that at the time of Akbar the Great, West Bengal (*i. e.*, the part lying on the west of the Bhagirathi) was divided into two sarkar, — the Mandran Sarkar and the Saptagram sarkar, — the latter comprising the area lying between the rivers Damodar and Bhagirathi. We may assume that an analogous political division existed during the Hindu period also, and that Saptagram had its own line of kings under the overlordship of the सामन्त चक्र चुडामणि (king of Aparmandar at Nagar). The capital of saptagram was at Tribeni *viz.*, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Saraswati rivers, and in addition to the civil administration of the area, the king here had to deal with the administration of the ports and the departments of customs, shipping, and the river-force. We find from page 309 of the late Rakhil Das Bannerji's History of Bengal, Vol. II (in Bengali) that the income of Saptagram was about 20 lakhs of rupees in the 16th century, when the volume of overseas trade may have suffered some set-back on account of the unsettled state of the country. During the Hindu period, the collection must have been very large and that is perhaps the reason why a kinsman feudatory was entrusted by the Imperial Guptas for the administration of this separate unit.

2. The kings of this line were, in the course of their business, in regular communication with the states in Southern India including Karnat, and it is through them that Karnat got her quota of Brahman Vallals from Northern India. Sometimes feudatory chiefs would be

required by the Maharajadhiraj of Karnat to exercise administrative control over the Vallals in a particular province of his dominion and in such cases, an adventurous member of the Ruling family of Saptagram would perhaps be attracted to the new field. Once there, the virgin soil, its natural scenery, the perpetual spring season, and the gentle "moley" breeze of the country would be found appealing enough for him to settle down there permanently. But there would also be some who would in old age like to return to the Ganges bank so that he might breathe his last there. Such was the case with Samanta Sen, a descendant of Bir Sen who and whose forefathers lived in "सदाचार पुर" Radh, and belonged to the Chandra Vansa (*vide* page 286 of Rakhal Das Banerji's History of Bengal Vol. I).

3. This Samanta Sen, in his old age, came to live on the bank of the Ganges "from where the scented sacrificial smoke went heavenwards and where the godly men lived and walked about". (Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I, pages 307 and 308).

4. As Samanta Sen returned to Rarh as a commoner, we would assume that he did not settle at Tribeni, the Capital of Saptagram on the bank of the Ganges, but must have taken up his abode at an equally holy place on the bank of that river at Nabadwipa. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Ballal Sen's name is still connected with a mound and a tank in the village of Bamanpukur near Nabadwipa (*vide* Nadia Gazetteer).

5. Old Samanta Sen returned to Bengal towards the latter part of the second quarter of the eleventh century with his son Hemanta Sen who had already established his reputation as a warrior in Karnat. Soon

after his return, he appears to have married Hemanta Sen to Yasho Devi, a princess of the Gupta family, and out of the marriage a son was born to Hemanta (in about 1045 A. D.). This boy, who ultimately became known by Bijoy Sen, ruled over Radh, Banga, Gaur and Barendra for about 33 years from 1068 to 1101.

6. In Section F of Chapter VIII of this book dealing with the achievements of the Chalukyas, it has been stated that a feudatory Raja of the Karnat country, who was also the Army General of the Chalukya Emperor, led an expedition to Mithila in about the year 1040 and in that expedition Karna Dev, then king of Mithila was defeated and his territory was occupied by a prince of the Chalukya family. As from the inscriptions discovered in the South, it is gathered that this Army General who was then an old man spent the last days of his life in an unknown place and did not return to Karnat, one is tempted to assume at once that this Army General is the same personage as the Feudatory (Samanta) Raja (सामन्त सेन) referred to above who, according to the copper plates discovered in Bengal, returned to Bengal in about the same year and never went back again to Karnat. But certain discrepancies are required to be reconciled before this assumption can be accepted, as will appear from the sub-joined statement. (based on the genealogical table in Chap. XXXIX.)

The names and surnames of the Feudatory kings ruling in Karnat Banabasi Province during the periods mentioned in Column 2 (on the assumption that the duration of reign of each king was about 20 to 25 years):

Prince No.	Period	According to Madhai-Nagar plate of king Lakshman Sen discovered in Bengal.	According to the Inscriptions discovered in southern India (<i>vide</i> Maiores' The Kadamba Kula.)
1	(915-940 A. D.)	Sridhalla— (a) यजुषुद्धारः (the great annotator of Yajurveda) (b) यशोधनस्तीर दुग्धवह्निः समुद्रं यस्यातिथिः संययुः” (whose fame travelled beyond the seas)	
2.	940-965	Manmatha “क्षीराब्धिनिधि प्रीतिः”	
3.	965-990	Pradyumna “क्रतुभिः वरिष्ठः” <i>i.e.</i> , greatest performer of Yajnas.	
4.	990-1010	Bir Sen (alias Dhir Sen) रिपुवली (Subduer of enemies) “सौरीक्षिभिः सम्प्राप्ति घोषितः” (Surrounded by Scholars in Astronomy)	अथर्व वेदाङ्गा देवः Repulsed the Chola incursions in 1007-8 and won the title of “Obtainer of boons from Chamunda”.
5.	1010	Samanta Sen “कर्णाट राज मार्त्तण्ड”	चट्टदेव “Kundraj” “Kaviraj - rajkesari” “Guardian of the High land”

7. From the above we find:—

- (A) The name of the Feudatory Prince No. 5.
(i. e. Samanta Sen as per Bengal plates)
is Chatta Deva according to the Mysore
Inscriptions, while the Mysore Inscriptions
further describe him as —

Kundraj and Kaviraj Raj Kesari

- (B) The name of the Feudatory Prince No. 4
(or Bir Sen of the Bengal plates) has
been shown in the Mysore Inscriptions as
Atherva Vedanga Deva

The question for consideration is whether these discrepancies can be reconciled. In considering this, we have to bear in mind that in the ancient days, distinguished persons were known more by their honorific appellations than by the names by which they were called in the family and when such persons had more appellative names than one, they would be referred to under different names from time to time.

8. As according to the Madhai Nagar Plate of Lakshman Sen quoted above the kings of the Sen Royal family belonged to “अम्बष्ठ ब्राह्मण धारा” and as they have been described in the plates as “आयुर्वेद द्युति बोधन तत्पराः” we can understand that “कविराजराज” was a common name of these princes. No. 5 (*viz.* “सामन्त सेन”) was perhaps the most erudite of them all in Ayurved and that is why he was known as “कविराज राज केशरी”

From the description of Pradymna Sen (King No. 3) as “ऋतुभिः वरिष्ठ” (i. e. the greatest prince presiding at the Yajna Kunda), we infer that he acquired the honorific appellation of Kundraj by which his

descendants performing Yajnas were also known. This leads us to infer that even after the family ceased to exercise ruling powers, this title, in its abbreviated form of Kunda, continued to be used by it

Feudatory Prince No. 4 (Samanta Sen's father Bir Sen), having not only been a Kaviraj Raj (आयुर्वेद द्युति बोधन तत्परः) was also an authority in Astro-nomy. This explains why he acquired the title of अथर्व वेदाङ्ग देव, as distinct from his ancestor (No. 1 in the list) who was an authority in Yajurveda.

The name चट्टदेव applied in the Mysore Inscription to Feudatory Prince No. 5 is also not a personal family name, but an appellative one. Brahmins of Bengal in the older days were known as "Chattas" and "Bhattas" *vide* the well known lines in Bengal Sen Kings Copper Plates in which it is stated that the Sen Kings चट्ट भट्ट जातीयान् जान पदान् ब्राह्मणान् मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति ममादिशन्तिस्म and in the Kadamba country, Brahmin immigrants from Bengal were also called as Chattas and Bhattas,—and the most respected of them were known as Chatta Devas and Bhatta Devas—so the name "Chatta Deva" simply indicates that Prince No. 5 came out of a respectable Brahmin family immigrated in that part of the country from Bengal.

9. Examining the question from this point of view, the discrepancies disappear and our conclusion is irresistible that Samanta Sen of the Bengal Copper Plates is the same as Chatta Deva of the Mysore Inscriptions.

10. From the Inscriptions discovered in Karnat we find Samanta Sen had three sons, but from the plates discovered in Bengal, we find that he brought only one son with him to Bengal (apparently as an officer in the Chalukya Army). As he left the Banabasi province to

fight the Parmaras of Malwa in about 1019 and as we find that Samanta Sen's throne was occupied in that year by one Chamunda Rai, it is probable in view of the fact that governorship of the provinces under the overlordship of the Chalukyas was hereditary by the law of custom that Chamunda Rai was the eldest son of Samanta Sen, and he and his descendants continued to rule in the Banabasi Province and in the Bangadi valley of the Western Ghat hills as Kundarajas — till the last Raja was killed by Tipu Sultan during early British period.

11. Samanta Sen, as I have already stated, settled down in Bengal, as a commoner, just to pass his last days on the banks of the Ganges. He married his son Hemanta Sen, to a princess of the Imperial Gupta (or Sur) family and out of this marriage was born Bijoy Sen. We have now to consider how Bijoy Sen could become the king of Bengal, Magadh, Mithila, and Kamrup.

CHAPTER XXXI

BIJOY SEN, A FAVOURITE OF FORTUNE

We have seen that as a result of the composition of Adi Sur's quarrel with the Pal Emperor, the power of the Pal (*viz.* of the Central Government) got rehabilitated towards the beginning of the eleventh century, and the House of Aparmandar (*viz.* of the Surs) also secured a hold on Banga through the House of Vikrampur. But this composition of the quarrel was not to the liking of Rajendra Chola, the King of Kalinga for reasons already explained. Between the years 1021 and 1025 (during the reign of 1st Mahi Pal) he swooped down on Bengal with a huge land army, and gave a severe shaking not only to the power of the Central Government but also (1) to Rana Sur, the king of Rarh, and (2) to Barendra Sur, the king of Banga, who fled towards the east. Rajendra Chola went away, but left behind his general, Bajra Varma (a Nag-vansi Brahman of the Uttar Yādava kula of Singhapura), who became king of Banga, after ousting the descendants of Chandra Sen who took refuge in Chandradwipa. Ranasur of Radh could hardly recover from the effect of this invasion, when the great Koibarta Revolt occurred, and (Ranasur's son) Anu Sur was deprived of his kingdom by the Koibarta Raja Dibya. Anu Sur had two sons, Chakradhar and Giridhar, the former fled to the eastern forest in Samatata, and the latter lived in the southern forest. It was then that the aristocracy of the empire (the former Samanta Chakra) met and devised ways and means for getting rid of the Democratic Government* of Koibartas. Ram Pal was successful in his efforts, the rebellion was crushed; Ram Pal was restored to the throne of Gaur; and Chakradhar, assuming the name of Lakshmisur, sat on the throne of Aparmandar as a Samanta raja of Emperor Bigraha Pal Deva.

2. But they were not to continue in peace for a long time. Towards the end of the eleventh century, Ananta Varma Chorenganga, the then king of Kalinga invaded Bengal with a fleet of fighting boats, stormed and took the fortified palace of the King of Aparmandar on the bank of the Bhagirathi (near about the present site of Shibpur opposite to Calcutta), compelling king Lakshmi Sur to flee to the southern forest and perhaps killing the ruler of Saptagram who was the Commander of the Naval Forces. Ananta Varma then collected taxes from the ports on both sides of the river, destroyed Rangamati, the capital of Uttar-rarh, and took possession of Dakshin-rarh as well. But when, he proceeded further upstream Vaidyadeva the Minister of Kumar Pal gave him a chase and in the naval engagement that followed in south Bengal, Ananta Varma was severely defeated and ran away into the sea.

3. It will thus be seen that about this time there was no king on the throne of Aparmandar, there was no ruler of Saptagram, there was no ruling prince in Vikrampur, while the descendant of Bajra Varma then governing in East Bengal, was but a weakling ruler. Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumar Pal, was the only man who could take effective measures to save the situation, but he was obliged to proceed almost at once to Kamrup to quell a rebellion. He succeeded in subduing it, but circumstances took such a turn that he had no other alternative than to occupy the throne in Kamrupa and conduct the administration of that country himself. None but a man of commanding personality, great organising ability, forceful character, and warlike activities could tackle the situation in Rarh and Bengal and the country found such a man in Bijoy Sen, the grandson of Samanta Sen, the Great "Karnat Raj Martanda".

4. Having married Bilasi Devi, a princess of the Sura family, he considered it to be a moral obligation on him to reform the administration of the country. He reorganised the land and naval forces, established effective control over the ports and, taking advantage of the absence of Vaidyadeva, took possession of both Dakshinarrarh and Uttarrarh. He had no great attachment for the central government of the Pals. He therefore marched into Barendrabhumi and occupied the whole of Barendra. By 1095, both Rarh and Banga came into his possession and the power of the Varma Raja was crushed, and by 1096 he wrested the rest of the Pal empire in Barendra and built the temple of Pradyumneshwar Shiva in Rajshahi, after the name of his great great grand father. In the same year, when Ananta Varma Choreganga attempted a second invasion on Bengal, he gave him a battle in which the invader was defeated. He had an engagement with the king of Kamrup also, in which the latter was defeated. Having defeated and driven away the Imperial Pals, Bijoy Sen automatically became the overlord of the Karnatic Singha Raja of Mithila, but in consideration of the fact that his grandfather Samanta Sen was a feudatory chief under the Chalukyas in Karnat, he sent up his fleet to Mithila in 1097 and proposed to King Nanya Dev that he should set up an independent Kingdom in the hills in the North with his aid, and instead cede the administration of Mithila to him, which was done. Nanya Dev took Nepal and formed a ruling dynasty known as Karnatic dynasty in Nepal. Bijoy Sen consolidated his power in Mithila by marrying his son Ballal Sen with princess Rama Devi of the Chalukya family. From page 309 of *Epigraphica India*, Vol. I it appears that in pursuit of his career of conquest King Bijoy Sen ordered his fleet to proceed further up the Ganges, and from the Sanskrit

historical work, "Rajabali" it appears that his forces reached Delhi just in time when the Tomars had withdrawn to their Capital in the Punjab to take defensive measures against Mahomedan incursions, and with the unanimous consent of the local people Bijoy Sen assumed charge of the administration and ruled at Delhi for 18 years and 5 months. Perhaps the latter part of his life he lived entirely at Delhi from about the year 1101 and during his absence his son Ballal Sen ruled Bengal on his behalf. That Bijoy Sen was a King of Delhi and owned territories in the Punjab would appear to be fairly established from the following fact gathered from page 287 of Vol. III, of Rose's Glossary of Tribes and Castes in the Punjab and Frontier Provinces (published by the Government of the Punjab).

"There is a place called Bengli near Amb and Lohara in Una, where a Rajput tribe called "Bengwal" is found. King Bijoy Sen was their ancestor. As a ruling tribe they lived some time in Delhi and Bhatinda, and then established themselves in Sirmore, Katra, Ghamror, Mandholl, Nari, and Toholo."

(NOTE:—A tribe of any caste whatever, which had in ancient times possessed supreme power throughout an extensive tract of the country was classed as Rajputs—*vide* page 272 of the above volume)

CHAPTER XXXII

BALLAL SEN

As Viceroy in Bengal during the time of	}	From 1101
Bijoy Sen's absence in Delhi ...		to 1119.
As King of both Bengal and Delhi, but	}	From 1119
actually resident at Delhi		to 1169.
Death	}	1169.

No information is available as to the exact time and place of King Bijoy Sen's death, but relying on the correctness of the Rajabali in its outline of the main facts, it appears that he died at Delhi in the year 1119 and his son Ballal Sen took up charge of the administration there in that year, authorising his son Lakshman Sen to conduct the administration of Bengal in his absence. It is admitted on all hands that the Lakshman Sambat started from the year 1119 when Lakshman took up the administration of Bengal, but there is a difference of opinion among historians as to whether this event occurred during the life time of Ballal Sen or after his death. The late Babu Rakhal Das Bannerji considered that Lakshman took up the administration after Ballal's death. I do not think that this view is correct and I note below the reasons on which my view is based:

(I) In the copper plates discovered so far, Ballal Sen has been described as an exceptionally able warrior for they say that—

(a) He was “असुरघाती वपुः”; “युद्ध सिद्धिः”;

“शौर्य विजयी”; संग्रामाश्रितः जंगमाकृतिः”

(b) He had “तेजो जिगीषासह”

(c) He enjoyed “अन्य दिगंगनागसगुणा भोग प्रलोभात्”

As in Bengal, there was peace all round at the time of Bijoy Sen's death, he having conquered and consolidated Radh, Banga, Barendra, Gaur, and Mithila, there was no scope for Ballal Sen to display the above martial qualities there, and in fact up to the year 1119, no evidences have come down to us to justify the above remarks in respect of Ballal Sen.

The language of the Copper plates however, though exaggerated in numerous cases, contains elements of facts. We have therefore got to accept the fact that Ballal Sen ruled over a kingdom which was sometimes at war with the neighbouring powers, and as a result of which war, parts of the enemy's territory were conquered by him. Where was this kingdom as it was certainly not Bengal as explained above? Beyond the borders of his own territory in Bengal was the dominion of the Garhwals of Kanauj which extended from Benares up to Kanauj and further up to the hills. He had no place in that dominion. Ballal's second kingdom was therefore somewhere beyond the Kanauj empire, and that leads us to spot it with the Kingdom of Delhi which his father acquired without bloodshed. As a King of Delhi, Ballal had to deal with three great neighbouring powers,—(1) the Tomars of Bhatinda (Punjab), (2) the Garhwals of Kanauj, and (3) the Chauhans of Ajmere. The first two were unfriendly to him while the third was his ally. That Ballal Sen lived and ruled at Delhi for 50 years from 1119 to 1169, A. D. would appear evident from the following considerations:

(A) In Lakshman Sen's Dinajpur plate, it is stated in respect of Ballal Sen —

“यश्च तोमरमेव शौर्यं विजयी—दत्तौषधं तत्क्षणात्” ।
अक्षौणा रचयञ्चकार वशगा स्वस्मिन् परेषां श्रियः ॥

which in plain English means that "The valiant warrior, by giving immediate lesson (medicine) to the Tomar, rendered the enemy's Fortune submissive to himself for good". The Tomars of the Punjab were the rulers of Delhi immediately before the Sens came. It appears that the Tomar King, some time during the reign of Ballal Sen at Delhi, invaded his territory but Ballal gave him an immediate lesson, not only beating the enemy back, but capturing and retaining a part of the enemy's territory. While from the expression "भोगप्रलोभात्" in the line. "सम्भुक्तान्य दिगंगनागणगुणा भोग प्रलोभात्" it appears that Ballal Sen himself sometimes invaded the Tomar country and occupied a part of the Tomar territory. (Perhaps it refers to Bisal Dev Chauhan's conquest of Rohtak on behalf of the Delhi King in about 1150, but from the history of the Bengal Rajputs, briefly noticed in the latter part of the Section dealing with King Bijoy Sen, it appears that the Sen Kingdom of Delhi gradually extended up to Bhatinda (Patiala) the Capital of the Tomars in the Punjab, which again indicates that the frontier of the Delhi Kingdom became ultimately contiguous to that of the Gores of Lahore.

It will be observed that in the Sloka quoted above, I have taken the liberty of substituting "यश्च तोमर मेव" for the words "यश्चेतोमयमेव" which have been adopted by the scholars from the plate. I venture to think that the scholars have misread the text as with the word "चेतोमयम्". the Sloka does not give good sense.

B In Lakshman Sen's Madhainagar (Pabna-Sirajgunja) plate, discovered by Mr. C. A. Radice, I. C. S., Collector of Pabna, during the latter part of the last century we find the following in respect of Ballal Sen:—

ये नासौ काशीराज्ञः समरेष्वपि लिप्सा,

राज्य विधि क्षम, ध्वंसो भीम-संग्राम-सन्धानस्तीक्ष्णैश्च ॥

Now this "Kashiraja" clearly refers to the Garhwal Raja of Kanauj whose dominion lay to the east of the Delhi kingdom and extended from Kanauj to Benares. In this plate Lakshman Sen states that Ballal kept the Garhwals at bay by actual warfare and also by sharp look out. No clash of Ballal was possible with Garhwals (*i. e.* with Kashiraja) prior to 1119 A. D.

(II) There is therefore sufficient justification for the view that Ballal lived and ruled at Delhi from 1119 after making over the administration of Bengal to his son, Lakshman Sen. With such powerful enemies on either side, namely the Tomars on the west and the Garhwals on the east, Ballal's position at Delhi was not secure. He therefore entered into a treaty of alliance with the Chauhans of Ajmere who were also not friendly to the Chandels and Tomars. The relationship between the two houses became very cordial, and it appears that to cement it still further, Ballal married his Chalukya Queen's daughter to Someshwar, a prince of the Chauhan house, out of which wedlock were born the great Prithwi Raj, so famed in the annals of Rajasthan, and his sister Pritha Kuari who was married to Samar Singh, the Prince of Chittor Durg,—the pathetic story of whose satihood, on the demise of her lord at the battlefield of Tirowrie, has been written in burning tears by Poet Chand.

(III) A prominent member of Ballal's staff at Delhi was Lau Sen, his kinsman who probably accompanied him to Delhi. As they lived about half a century in Delhi, they grew a large family there, and entered into matrimonial alliances with the Muhial Brahmans of the Punjab. The Muhials are the most aristocratic Brahmans of the Punjab. They sometimes, out of generosity marry the daugh-

ters of the ordinary Brahmans, but they never give their daughters in marriage to the ordinary Brahmans. Those among the Muhials who follow चिकित्सा or the giving of medical relief to the diseased, as a hereditary calling, have formed themselves into a separate clan, called Baidyas, and they claim their descent from Dhanwantari. But they are also first class soldiers, occupying the top place in the list of martial races in the Punjab. They were the ancient rulers of the land and Commander-in-Chief Lord Roberts has called them 'a caste of militant Brahmans'. As Ballal also belonged to the "ब्रह्म क्षत्रिय" (i. e., militant Brahman) caste the sympathy, co-operation, and the identity of community of interest, created by these matrimonial alliances, were also a great asset to the security of the Sen Kingdom at Delhi. We find that Muhial generals fought side by side with Prithwi Raj at Tirourai; some fell at the battlefield, and some (with a few of the military officers of the Bengal Army) fled to the hills and ultimately became noblemen in the Kashmir State. Shiva Dutta Baidya a descendant of Gorakh Rai, (a courtier of Rai Pethora) who fell at the above battle field became a noble of the Jammu Court and took a principal part in rescuing the Hindu captives of Timur. The descendants of Lau Sen have merged in the Muhial Brahmans, forming a separate clan called the "Lau" clan. They claim to be the descendants of Sur Sen, a descendant of Ballal Sen. They are mostly big land holders in Bajwara, Hoshiarpur district. The existence of this Lau clan in the Punjab also proves that Ballal Sen lived and ruled at Delhi after 1119.

2. Next point for our consideration is the period of King Ballal's rule at Delhi. The Moslem historians recorded that Ballal ruled as a king for 50 years. This

would carry his reign up to 1169 and we find that exactly in that year he completed his monumental work on Smriti "Danasagara" which he had started writing years ago;—but left incomplete his other great work on Astronomy "Adbhuta Sagar" which he began to write a year ago only. Having been born in बाणखेन्दुमेशाके i. e. in the 1005 Sak Era or 1083 A. D., he was 86 years old at that time, and must have felt that his last days were very near. He kept his eldest grandson (Madhov Sen) always by him after he had become a grown up boy, as next to his son Lakshman Sen, he was the proper person entitled to perform his funeral rites immediately after death, if for reasons of State Lakshman Sen might not come away from Bengal to be present at his deathbed in time. Still he sent for Lakshman Sen who came post-haste to Delhi and met his father. Ballal desired to be removed to the bank of the mother Ganges, so that he might take his last breath on the bank of that holy river. The Royal wishes became known to all, and the Garhwal Maharaja of Kanauj also came to know it in due course. Hindus compose their differences on such occasions, and the Maharaja of Kanauj was no exception. The Ganges flowed through *his* territories and the most sacred places on her bank—Prayag and Benares—were situated in his dominion. He very nobly proposed to Lakshman Sen that his venerable father might be taken to one of these places, assuring that his resources would be placed at his disposal for the convenience of the Royal Guest and his staff. As Allahabad was nearer to Delhi than Benares, the former place must have been selected for the departure. From the Adbhut Sagar we find that Ballal Sen

नानादान चितान्न सञ्चलतटे सूर्यात्मजा संगमे ।

गंगायां विरचर्थ निर्जनपुरं भाग्यानुपातो गतः ॥ *

i. e., having built a sequestered palace at the confluence of the Yamuna (सूर्यात्मजा) and the Ganges, where the breeze wafts the “पुण्य” of innumerable funerals and gifts (of food and money), he went there followed by his wife.

3. The political horizon of Western India was getting cloudy at that time owing to the frequent incursions of the Mahommadans. Lakshman Sen represented to his father that as he himself was an old man (his age then was about 68 years), he might be called away at any time. In his absence, his eldest son, Madhav, would have to occupy the Bengal throne, and then no other person would be available to tackle the Delhi situation. Prithwiraj, who was brought up within the fort (there is a saying among the Chauhans that he could not recognise his father even when he was a grown up boy), and who, under the military training received from the Sens, turned out to be a first class gentleman warrior, was the proper person to be entrusted with the administration of Delhi. Prithwiraj was then a young man of 20 years. Father and son—Ballal and Lakshman—

* As Dr Bhandarkar is of opinion that the original text of Adbhuta Sagar has been corrupted by Copyist's errors, I have very slightly edited the sloka. Dr. Bhandarkar has translated the sloka as “Then having made many gifts, he went to the City of Gods with his wife”. This hardly conveys the actual meaning. It seems to imply that both husband and wife went to heavens simultaneously, which is not the intention. It ignores the significance of the words सूर्यात्मजा संगम (i. e., confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges.) It does not take into account the force of the word “चितान्न”. The text so far published no doubt shows the word “निर्जनपुरं” instead of “निजनपुरं” which I have adopted, the former means ‘the City of Gods’—but I think “निर्जनपुरं” is more appropriate.

gave him much sound advice as to the conduct of the administration, and then formally making over charge of the administration to him and leaving the Ministers and the bulk of the army at Delhi, all the members of the royal household with the necessary staff (including the priests) went to occupy the newly built palace at Allahabad.

4. A shortwhile afterwards in that year (1169), Ballal expired at the Prayag Sangam—the highest aspiration of a devout Hindu, and Lakshman performed the necessary religious ceremonies at the sacred place. He then persuaded his mother (who must have been at least 81 years old at that time) to accompany him to Bengal, but the old queen thought she would join her lord soon, and desired to be left at Allahabad, so that her mortal remains might be burnt to ashes at the same spot where those of her lord were burnt. Jay Chand, the Kanauj Raj pressing Lakshman Sen to accede to his mother's importunities, Lakshman left for Bengal, leaving his eldest son, Madhov and his family with the necessary staff at Allahabad.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LAKSHMAN SEN (1169 - 1176)

The Mahomedan historians say that Lakshman Sen ruled for 7 years as a king and this appears to be correct, as the highest number of the year of reign noted in the copper plates issued by him as a king, which have been discovered so far, indicates 7 Sambat. Altogether therefore he reigned for 57 years in Bengal, viz. 50 years as a representative of Ballal Sen, and 7 years as fullfledged king after Ballal had passed away. Ballal also ruled in Bengal for 18 years as a representative of his father, Bijoy Sen. We may now consider what their achievements were in Bengal.

2. The Sens were a family of orthodox Hindus and Ballal was an authority in Smriti. When he occupied the throne in 1101, he noticed that the descendants of the five Brahmans (brought out from Kanauj by King Adisur) who were then settled in Barendra and East Bengal, were by long contact with Buddhism (the religion of the Pal Emperors), not preserving the Achar — Vyavahar of Varnashrama Dharma properly, and that in some cases, even intercaste marriage prevailed. The same defects he also noticed among the Vaidayas and Kayasthas living in that area. He, therefore, laid down a set of rules for the conduct of the members of each caste, the object being to create a spirit of pride of birth in each one's Kula, which is known as Kulinism, and he stopped inter-caste marriage. As Buddhism was a dying religion then, he reconverted a large number of people to the Hindu faith, classifying them under nine new castes, called nine branches of the Hindu society tree “नवशाख”. To see that the caste rules

were observed by the people strictly, he transferred his capital to Rampal in Vikrampur which he had reconstructed along with the royal houses in other places viz., at Nabadwipa, Nagor, and Gaur. Nothing else of importance has come to light in connection with Ballal's administration in Bengal, which was a peaceful one. He inherited a kingdom quite consolidated by his father, and no outside power gave him trouble. Lakshman Sen administered Bengal for 57 years, but occasionally he had to be away from it when he was sent for at Delhi, for administration and other purposes. Lakshman Sen was a very strong personality. He occupied the palace at Gaur which was thereafter called Lakshmanavati or Laknauti, but he generally resided at Rampal to attend to the social reconstruction work started by his father. He took stern measures against those who did not come up to the standard of *acharvyavahar* of the caste to which they belonged. He stopped intermarriage between the Rarhiya and Barendra Brahmans while for the delinquents of his own caste—the Vaidyas—the disciplinary measures taken were drastic. Such men in East Bengal were deprived of their sacred thread. He was a devout Vaishnava and a great literary man who completed the great work on Astronomy which his father had left unfinished. His court was adorned with the great literary geniuses of the day, among whom were — (1) Jayadev (2) Dhoyi Kaviraj, (3) Sarani Datta and (4) Umapati Dhara.

3. He was also a great warrior—He had clashes with Kalinga and Kamrup in both of which he came out successful. He once defeated the Garhwal king of Benaras, and erected victory pillars at Benares and Allahabad within his dominion. The Pals (who had been ousted by his grandfather from Gaur-Barendra) were kept confined within a limited area in south Magadh,

viz., in Bihar sub-division of Patna District and the Gaya District, although the Pals were getting substantial help from the Garhwal Raja of Benares. The era started from 1119 A. D. in commemoration of his having assumed the reins of Government is still in use in Magadh and Mithila.

4. Lakshman Sen died in the year 1176, after a reign of 7 years as King, as stated by Mahammedan historians. His eldest son, Madhav Sen must have come to Bengal some time before from Allahabad to attend to his dying father. He had to go back to Allahabad after the performance of Sradh ceremony as the old queen was still alive there. So he was crowned king of Bengal in name only. His next younger brother — Keshav Sen — was charged with the duty of carrying on the administration as his representative during his absence.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CHAND RASO

This book which consists of 1400 pages purports to give a description of the day-to-day incidents in Prithwi Ray's life, written concurrently in ancient Hindi verse by his lifelong companion, Poet Chand Bardai, who, as a noted soldier, fought by his side in the battle fields also. Of the three ministers of Prithwiraj, Chand was one, and being senior in age by several years, he was held in esteem and regarded as an elder brother. The book therefore should be an invaluable help in finding out the actual history of the period of Prithawiraj's life. But as usual in such cases, the original poems (written between 1169 and 1192) have undergone mutilation and alterations by many hands from time to time, while the book itself has been expanded by many later additions. Historical facts as recorded in this book, should therefore be accepted after careful examination although as a literary production, the book is a master piece.

2. The first edition of this book was published by one Babu Amar Singh of Marwar in 1650 and altogether three editions have come out so far. Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Shyamal Dasji considers that the Raso in its present form was composed by some one in the name of poet Chand in the 16th or 17th century and his opinion is based on the fact that the book contains about 10% Arabic and Persian words, whereas the proportion of such words should be far less, almost negligible, in a book composed before the commencement of the Mohamedan rule. Other scholars have tried to explain away this high percentage on grounds which do

not appear to be convincing. In the book, after Mangalacharan, the poet invokes the blessings of the poets who flourished in ancient times, *e. g.* Vyas deva, Shuk deva, Kali Das, Sri Harsha, Dandamali, and Jayadeva, all of whom, with the exception perhaps of Dandamali, were poets in Sanskrit. Now Jayadeva, the writer of the immortal "Gita Gobinda", was a poet-Jewel in the court of Lakshmana Sen of Bengal in the third quarter of the 12th century and therefore he was a contemporary of Chand Bardai. It is unlikely that Gita Gobinda, which is now read and sung with delightful joy by every devout Vaishnava all over India could have got into so wide a circulation so quickly. Moreover it appears to be possible that Jaya Deva was still alive when Chand started writing the Raso. The blessings of a living man are hardly invoked by the poets when they start writing a new book. In these considerations, I am of opinion that the view taken by Mahamahopadhyaya Shyamal Dasji is the correct one. The main facts, as outlined in the book may be taken to be correct for the most part but the editor has made confusion in matters of detail.

5. Thus when the Raso says that Prithwiraj's maternal grandfather was the King of Delhi and he got the Kingdom of Delhi as a gift from him, it gives a correct account of the facts, but when it says that the name of this grandfather was Ananga Pal (inserted by editor perhaps out of zeal to give fuller information), it is wrong. It has been established beyond doubt by historians that Ananga Pal reigned as a full-fledged King of Delhi in the middle of the 11th century *i.e.* 1050. As Prithwiraj was born in 1149 and attained majority in 1167, it would be necessary for Ananga Pal to live 117 years after 1050 (when he was probably about 30

years old) to make a gift of the Raj to him, which is absurd.

4. It is in the names that most inaccuracies occur in the Raso. Even the names of Prithwi Raj's ancestors, as given in the Raso do not agree with those written in the inscriptions discovered in Chittore, nor do they agree with those collected by Mr. Smith from works found by him in Kashmir. The genealogy carefully prepared by Mr. Duff also differs from the genealogy given in the Raso.

5. From what has been stated in the foregoing pages, it can be safely concluded that Prithwi Raj's mother was a daughter (perhaps adopted daughter) of the Chalukya Queen of Ballal Sen. As the Kulagranthas do not mention of a daughter having been born to Ballal Sen, the girl given away in marriage to the prince of Ajmer was perhaps adopted by the Queen.

6. I quote another instance of inaccuracy noticed in the Raso in this connection. When Raso says that after making the gift of the Kingdom to Prithwiraj, the maternal grandfather went away on pilgrimage, it is giving correct information to us, but when it says that he went on pilgrimage to Badrinarayana, the information given is inaccurate as it is clear from the introductory Slokas in the *Adbhut Sagar* that Ballal went to Allahabad (Prayag) to spend the last days of his life at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

CHAPTER XXXV

DEATH OF KING MADHAV SEN IN 1186 AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE SENS IN THE U. P. AND PUNJAB.

On return from Bengal after Lakshman Sen's Sradh ceremony and his own Coronation, Madhav Sen noticed that the attitude of the Garhwal Raja towards him and his staff had changed altogether. There was clearly a want of cordiality which, he came to know, was brought about by the youthful indiscretion of Prithwiraj who had carried off the daughter of King Jaychand and married her against his father's will and thus insulted and humiliated Jaichand. The Sen Royal family were living as guests of King Jaichand at Allahabad from 1169, and, after Ballal's death in that year, Prithwiraj came there from Delhi to see his grandfather every now and then and the ladies of the Kanauj Raj family would also be coming occasionally to pay social visits to the old queen. It is just possible that Prithwiraj and King Jai Chand's daughter, Sanyukta, met more than once on such occasions, and it is quite natural that the two young creatures wished and prayed on the bank of the two holy rivers that their hearts might also mingle by the solemnisation of marriage. Would that King Jaichand read their hearts, would that he rose superior to his social prestige for the sake of his daughter, would that he celebrated their marriage with the blessings of a father. In that case, history of India would have been written in a different language. The combined armies of the Chauhans and the Gurhwals would then have stood by the Tomars, and no foreign hordes would succeed in breaking their

resistance. It is an irony of fate that Prithwiraj, in an impulsive mood, did not pay heed to the good counsel of his lifelong companion and Minister, Chand Bardai, and it is also an irony of fate that King Jaichand, instead of pardoning the couple, boiled with the spirit of vengeance.

2. Prithwiraj had not the face to come to Allahabad to see his grandmother again, nor to see and condole with his cousin, Madhav Sen, who was older than him by about 25 years) after his maternal uncle's death. In a rage, Madhav Sen went to Delhi to reprimand him. We gather from the Raso that once Prithwiraj's maternal grand-father (apparently a mistake for maternal cousin, Madhav Sen) came from Badri Narayan (a mistake for Prayag), and there was a fight (apparently it refers to the reprimand administered by Manhav to Prithwi), and after this Prithwiraj fell at his feet and asked for forgiveness. Then he went back to Badrinarayan (mistake for Allahabad). Madhav at Allahabad felt very much humbled and mortified at the conduct of Prithwiraj. He had no desire to tarry a day longer, but there was no help, he could not leave the place till the old lady passed away.

3. The Garhwals did not give any cause for complaint in their outward treatment of the Sens at Allahabad, but report came to Madhav Sen in 1183 that the Garhwals had occupied a part of Buddha Gya from the Benares side and they were proceeding towards east and south east, Madhav felt that it was absolutely necessary for him to go to Bengal, but he could not, because of the old lady.

4. At last in 1186 the old lady died, and after the performance of necessary ceremonies, Madhav prepared to raise his camp at Allahabad and proceed homeward

to Bengal. All the members of the staff and household (including the ladies), and that party of the Army which remained at Allahabad for guard duty left apparently in boats down the Ganges. Immediately after the departure of King Madhav Sen from Allahabad, the Political and Army departments of the Kanauj Government considered that it would be unwise to let him proceed towards Bengal and they decided to oppose his progress. Madhav Sen had not proceeded far when the Garhwals blocked his passage. There was a skirmish, in which both Madhav Sen and one of his sons (Sur Sen) appear to have died. The Kanaujiyas then notified to them that they were their captives. But if an undertaking was given by them that they would neither proceed towards Bengal, nor go back to Delhi, but would go northwards towards the Himalayas, then arrangements would be made for their necessary transport. The party agreeing to this last proposal they were led towards the hills, scattered in different directions from West Nepal to Kangra Valley. According to the Gazetteer of the Simla Hill States, Rup Sen (the son of Sur Sen) settled at Rupar in Umballa district but he had to fight there with the Mahamedans constantly. In one of the battles, he was ultimately killed. His 3 sons then proceeded further north to avoid the Mohamadans, and founded the kingdoms and principalities of Mandi, Suket, Keonthal, Kishtwar, Koti, etc. A Brahmin Army Officer under the Sens with the name suffix of "Pal" founded a Kingdom in the Ravi Valley between Kangra and Kulu, which came to be known as "Banghwal", and of which the capital was Bir Banghwal, (*vide* Kangra District Gazetteer, pp 109-110). Mrs. Sarala Devi Chawdhurani whose husband the late Mr. Rambhuj Dutta Chawdhuri was a prominent Muhial Brahman, is of opinion that the present Maharajas of Kashmir, Punch, and Junga are also the descendants of Rup Sen. Mohamaden historians have said that after

the death of Lakshman Sen, his son Madhav Sen became King and ruled for 10 years. He was crowned King in 1176 but did not actually rule himself as I have shown above. After his death in 1186, his brother Keshav Sen, who was ruling in Bengal as his representative became the crowned King, and the Mahomedan historians have recorded that he ruled for 15 years, which means that his reign lasted upto 1201. As this agrees with the year when Bakhtiyar Khilji raided Nabadwip, the period of his reign mentioned by the Mahomedan historians may be accepted as correct.

5. To crush Prithwi Raj, King Jai Chand now entered into an ignoble alliance with Shahabuddin Ghorî and the arrangement was that while Shahabuddin would deliver the frontal attack to the King of Delhi from the Punjab side, he would attack in the rear. During the first year Prithwiraj distinguished himself by defeating Shahabuddin, but in the next year (1193), he was captured in the same battle field by Shahabuddin in spite of his wonderful fighting, and ultimately killed. No other Hindu Chiefs fought on the side of Prithwiraj except his sister's husband, the King of Chittor, although it involved the loss of Hindu independence for good. The Muhial Brahmans of the Punjab and the bulk of the Bengal Army fought and fell. Some were killed, some were captured, some fled in different directions, some of them settled in Banga in Jullundar, some in Bangal in Patiala, and some ultimately settled as noblemen in Jammu Kashmir. Those army officers, who were kinsmen of the Sen Royal family merged in the Muhial Brahmans and became part of the Lau clan among them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONTROVERSY AS REGARDS THE CASTE OF THE KARNATIC SENS.

The above controversy was first started in the third quarter of the nineteenth century by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra. In his "Indo-Arian", he started with the following sentence:

"The Universal belief in Bengal is that the Sens were of the medical caste, and families of Vaidyas are not wanting in the present day who trace their lineage from Ballal Sen".

Then he proceeded to prove that this tradition was opposed to authoritative inscriptions for the following reasons:—

(a) In the plates discovered —

1. The original home of Samanta Sen of this dynasty has been described as Karnat in the Deccan.
2. He has been shown as a Karnat Kshatriya.
3. Belonging to "Somavansa", or "श्रीषधिनाराय वंश"

(b) The plates also describe King Sámanta Sen as "ब्रह्मचक्राणाम् कुलशिरोदाम" (rendered into English by Dr. Mitra as a "garland for the head of the race of noble Kshatriyas").

Dr. Mitra's conclusion therefore was that the Sens were not Vaidyas, but they were Kshatriyas of the Lunar dynasty.

2. As regards the original home of the Sens, Dr. Mitra's suggestion that it was Karnat has been nullified

by the Sitahati plate in which the home of the ancestors of Samanta Sen has been shown as Radh (south west Bengal). Vide Late R. D. Banerji's History of Bengal, Vol. I, page 286.

3. Dr. Mitra's suggestion that the Sens were Kshatriyas because in the plates, they have described themselves as such, was made without a careful examination of the question. In the very plate referred to by him, the Sen kings have been described as राजन्य धर्माश्रयः.

In the Dan Sagar, King Ballal described himself as "क्षत्रिय चरित्रचर्य", both of which clearly indicate that the Sens were not actually Kshatriyas, but assumed their duties and responsibilities. Dr. Mitra's omission to take note of these expressions is remarkable.

4. In the South all the ruling houses — viz. the Bakataka Satbahans, their branch, the Pallavas, — the Kadambas, and the Chalukyas were founded by Brahmans, and some of them performed Brihaspati Yajnas also, which are open to the Brahmans only. In the Nasik prashasti, the eldest son of Prabar Sen, the Bakataka Satbahan King is described as the "unique Brahman" almost as great as Parasuram, but his brother, Vir Kurcha, the founder of the Pallava dynasty and his descendants in their inscriptions have proudly said that they raised their position by austere political deeds and became Kshatriyas. This pride does not lie in their demotion from the first rank to the second rank of the Barnashram hierarchy, but in the fact that fortune put them in the position of Kings (क्षत्रियs) for the purpose of the protection of ब्राह्मणधर्म. The word "कर्णाट क्षत्रिय" has therefore to be taken to mean a Raja of Karnat. In fact the word कर्णाट क्षत्रिय is an echo of the expression "दाक्षिणात्य क्षौणीन्द्रा" in Bijo'y Sens Plate where his ancestors have been described as such. We should remember that

Karnat was divided into several provinces, each under a feudatory Raja, under the overlord whose designation was “धर्म महाराज”. The expression “कर्णाट क्षत्रिय” should therefore signify that “Samanta Sen was the foremost among the feudatory Rajas in Karnat”.

5. As regards (3) Dr. Mitra had no authority to translate चन्द्र or सोम वंश as “Lunar Dynasty” of the Mahabharata Age. I have already explained that the descendants of the Imperial Gupta family and its branches were considered in the south as belonging to “चन्द्र वंश” because that family was founded by Chandra Gupta. Various synonymous expressions have been used by the poets and panegyrists to signify this line, *e.g.* they have sometimes used “चन्द्र वंश” and sometimes “सोम वंश”. When therefore the plates say that Samanta Sen belonged to the “सोम वंश” we are to understand that he came of a branch of the Imperial Gupta family.

6. Dr. Mitra's conclusion that the Sens were not Baidyas was again unjustified. Both in the Tapandighi plate and in the Sundarbana plate, the word used is “श्रीषधिनाथ वंश” and not “श्रीषधिनाथ वंश”. The latter undoubtedly means “चन्द्र वंश” but the former means a “physician family” or “वैद्य वंश”. As the panegyrist carefully uses the most appropriate word to clearly convey the sense of a sentence, it will be found on examination that his intention was to describe the vansa as Baidya vansa. In the Sloka,

सेवावनम्रनृपकोटिकिरीटरोचि रम्बुल्लसतपदनखद्युतिबल्लरीभिः ।
तेजोविषज्वरमुषो द्विषतामभूवन् भूमिभूजः स्फुटमयौषधिनाथवंशे ॥

it is said that ‘the lustre of the nails of their feet (which was a medicinal creeper, as it were) being treated by them with the water (represented by the lustre of the diadems of the Kings prostrate before them in homage),

the Kings used to neutralise the poisonous fever of martial ardour of their enemies, because they belonged to the औषधिनाथ वंश or Baidya Vansa. It is irrelevant to coin and bring in the word औषधिनाथ वंश here to indicate the functions of चन्द्र वंश ।

7. Our conclusions thus far therefore, are:—

- (a) That the Sen Kings belonged to the Baidya Vansa
- (b) That they were an off shoot of the Imperial Gupta family, founded by the great Chandra Gupta.
- (c) That the original home of their ancestors was Radh from which some of them migrated to Karnat and one of their ancestors, Samanta Sen was the foremost of the feudatory Kings in Karnat.

8. A question may now arise 'Have they said anything as to the वर्ण to which they belonged? The answer to this question is to be found in the Sloka स ब्रह्म क्षत्रियाणाम् अजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्त सेनः in the Deopara plate, which means that "of all those Brahmans, who assumed the duties and responsibilities of Kshatriya Kings, Samanta Sena was the foremost", the word 'Brahma-Kshatra' meaning — a Brahman who assumed the duties and responsibilities of Kshatriya Kings. Dr. Mitra has referred to this Sloka in his Indo-Arian in which he has translated "Brahma-Kshatra" as "head of the race of noble Kshatriyas". This is clearly wrong and is not based on any authority.

9. In Raja Sir Radha Kanta Dev's Sanskrit Dictionary शब्दकल्पद्रुम (page 2913) the meaning of the word ब्रह्म दैत्य has been stated to be प्रेत योनि प्राप्त ब्राह्मणः i. e. a Brahman who has become a ghost. We know from

grandmother's tales (told to the children in every home) that this ब्रह्मदैत्य does not divest himself of his Brahminical proclivities for he dwells on the branch of the Bail tree and performs the Kali Puja on the अमावस्या night. Similarly on a reference to page 2917 of the above dictionary it is seen that the word ब्रह्मराक्षस means a Brahman who has misbehaved with another man's wife and who has stolen another man's purse. Both the compound words describe the Brahminical proclivities of the being to whom they are applicable—They do not certainly mean a head of the दैत्याs or a head of the राक्षसाs. It is well known that Parasu Ram was a ब्रह्मचरिय viz. a Brahman who conducted himself like a चरिय and this is the correct meaning of the expression. One therefore fails to understand why Dr. R. L. Mitra translated the compound word ब्रह्मचरिय into English as head of the Kshatriyas. In speaking of the Mahial Brahmans, Commander-in-Chief Lord Roberts, described them as ancient rulers of the land, a race of militant Brahmans. And I think that the correct equivalent in English of the word 'ब्रह्मचरिय' should be *a militant Brahman*. It will thus be seen that the नाग, वकाटक, पल्लव कदम्ब Gupta, Sen, and the Ganga families were all ब्रह्मचरिs or militant Brahmans and (divested of the चरिय qualities) their descendants were Brahmans and not चरियस.

10. A flood of light has however been thrown on these points in the plate discovered by Mr. G. A. Radice, I. C. S., Collector of Pabna, at Madhainagar in Sirajgunge Sub-division of the district. In that plate—

(a) This dynasty has been described as “अश्वह
ब्राह्मण घारा”.

(b) Ballal Sen has been described as “ब्राह्मण
षट् कर्मणिष्ठ” but “प्राज्ञसनेऽवसन् विक्रमपुरे
चरियधर्मे”

(c) Lakshman Sen has been described as —

1. “ब्राह्मण्य षट्कर्म वृत्तिः ”
2. “ क्ष धर्म ब्राह्मण्य धर्म प्रयुक्तः ”
3. औषध-धी-स्वामि
4. विशुद्ध वर्णो, वैद्य वर्णो, वैद्य वृत्त्या, क्षत्रिय ब्रह्म वृत्तिः ”
5. ब्रह्म मण्डलैक चक्रवर्त्ती; ब्राह्मण धर्माध्यक्षः
6. लक्षण सेनको देव शर्मा
7. “ धीर कवि-जयदेव-धोयिकादि-ब्रह्मक्षत्रियैः प्रसिद्धः ”

11. I think it is now sufficiently proved that Dame Tradition is not spurious; that the caste of the Sens was Vaidya; their Varna was Brahman; they assumed the functions of the Kshatriya kings; they were an offshoot of the Imperial Guptas and one of them (Samanta Sen) was a feudatory King in the Carnatic. As their ancestors originally came from the Ambastha country (the bank of the Indus) they were also known by the appellation अम्बष्ठ.

12. In speaking of the Mahial (Baidya) Brahmans of the Punjab, Commander-in-Chief Lord Roberts, has called them a race of militant Brahmans and I think the most appropriate equivalent in English of the word ब्रह्मक्षत्र is a race of militant Brahmans. Let us see what is the social status of these Mahial (or Baidya) Brahmans in the Punjab.

CHAPTER XXXVII

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE MAHIAL OR MAHIPAL (BAIDYA) BRAHMANS IN THE PUNJAB.

These Brahmans form a group of secular Brahmans who take wives from the Saraswata Brahman group in Gujrat (Punjab) while in Rawalpindi the five superior groups of the Bunjahi Saraswata Brahmans give their daughters to the Muhials (Rawalpindi Gazetteer 1883-84 p. 51).

2. There are two sub groups and eight sections among the Muhial Brahmans, among whom those who are hereditary physicians have formed a separate clan called the Baidys and they claim their descent from Dhanwantari. They are very aristocratic, and, considering it undignified to accept Dan (alms) for officiating as priests, they became — and still are — purely secular. All Mahials occupy a high position in society and occasionally, out of generosity, marry girls of ordinary Brahman families, but they never give their daughters to the ordinary Brahmans.

3. They draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Saraswata Brahmans, — thereby indicating that there are two classes of Brahmans in the Punjab. But it is not known what is the specific name of their class. In Bengal the old Kula Shastras say that the Baidyas are of two classes, *viz.*, (1) those who came from the bank of the Saraswati, and (2) those who came from the bank of the Indus “वैद्यास्तु द्विविधाः प्रोक्ताः सागभवताश्च सैन्धवाः.” The Muhial Baidyas therefore fall under the second category *i. e.*, they belong to the सैन्धव class. As Sindhu and Amba are synonymous terms the words Sindhustan (or Hindusthan) and Ambasthan are also synonymous. The conclusion therefore is that the Punjab Baidyas are also Ambastha Brahmans.

4. The Lau clan of these Muhial Brahmans claim to be the descendants of Sur Sain, a descendant of Ballal Sain. They are mostly big land holders in Bajwara, Hoshiarpur district.

After the battle of Tirauri, in which Rai Pethora was defeated, many Muhials along with the survivors of the Sen family sought refuge in the hills and ultimately became noblemen in Jammu.

5. The Baidyas of Bengal, some of whom, as we have seen, merged in the Muhial Brahmans of the Punjab, all pursue honorable occupations. They have produced numerous supermen who have uplifted the nation intellectually, morally socially and spiritually. Their contribution to the science of healing art is unique and unequalled in any other part of India. Their general scholarship in sanskrit is at least on a par with that of the learned priestly Pundits. They have been described in the successive Government census reports as the most enlightened race in Bengal. They are proud of their birth as Vaidyas and noted for their purity and independence of character. It is true that like their brothers — the Baidyas of the Punjab — they have abandoned priestly functions, but from time immemorial they have been giving *Mantra* to members of all castes (including the Brahmans) for their spiritual benefit (*vide* Burdwan Gazetteer). Their social status is thus analogous to that of the Baidas in the Punjab.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

MAHOMEDAN INVASION AND THE FALL OF THE SEN DYNASTY IN BENGAL AND KARNAT.

Kashav Sen began to rule Bengal as a representative of his elder brother, King Madhav Sen who was all along in attendance on his grandmother awaiting the expiry of life at Prayag. For administrative purposes, it appears that the country was divided into two parts — he himself ruling Rarh, Barendra (Gaur), and Mithila from the palaces at Gaur and Nabadwipa—and his brother Bishwarupa ruling the eastern provinces from the palace at Rampal. After the occurrence of the catastrophe at Allahabad in 1186 in which King Madhav died, the formalities of Keshav Sen's Coronation were somehow got through, but the Royal households were cast in gloom. Within the course of 10 years, King Lakshman Sen had died, and King Madhav and his son, Sur Sen, had met with unnatural death at the hands of the enemies. Of the notables accompanying King Madhav, some had been killed and some were captured, and the rest including the surviving members of the Royal family had been transported to unknown directions, and were living in exile,—where no body could say. The whole kingdom was plunged in grief. It seemed as if Fate was against the Sens, and Keshav feared that another disaster was perhaps coming. In this depressed spirit he was carrying on the administration when reports came that another calamity had occurred at the battle field of Tirauri. Prithwiraj had been killed by the Mahomedans with the pick of the Bengal Army, and of Madhav Sen's other sons and descendants, some had been killed and some had fled to the hill sides. Keshav's mental vigour was gone. About a year after, he got the report that the Kanauj

fort of King Jaichand had been captured by the Mahomedans and they had proceeded as far as Benares and killed Jai Chand there. The next item of bad news was that an advance party of Mahomedan soldiers had penetrated into Magadh, and had been carrying on havoc there. He himself took the field* and defeated them. He then summoned his council and decided what course of action should be taken for the defence of the kingdom, entrusting the proper execution thereof to the Army General at Gaur and himself shifted to Nabadwipa. This is just the time when opportunists grind their axe and do not hesitate to barter away the country's independence for a mess of pottage.

2. With a handful of irregular soldiers, Bakhtiar Khilji was plundering and destroying temples, monasteries, university and private houses, and slaughtering men like cattle at his sweet will. The Army General offered no resistance. In the ordinary course of things, the next onslaught of the Mahomedans would be on Gaur, and to reach there, the shortest route was the one through the narrow pass in the hills between Sahebgunge and Sakrigalighat. No pickets were posted in that Pass to offer resistance. Then the Ganges which was very broad here, would have to be crossed. The Mahomedans were not experts in river fights, but no measures were taken to oppose their crossing. It then became an easy walk-over to the handful of the Mahomedans to occupy the Gaur fort which was untenanted by the King at the time. This could happen only because there was treachery on the part of the Army General. Who this man was and what he gained by betraying his master's trust is still unknown. It is hoped that some young researchist some day will find out the name of this earlier "Mir Zaffar"

* Vide Keshav Sen's plate and J. A. S. New series Vol. X 99-104, (page 323 of R. D. B's History of Bengal).

and let the country know for what sordid gain he took this ignoble course.

3. With the occupation of Gaur by the Mahomedans Mithila automatically became independent of Bengal and successfully maintained her independence from Mahomedan onslaughts for about 300 years. Keshav Sen could perceive that his Army Officers were playing treachery and he therefore wanted to reorganise the Defence Department, but his learned court Pandits declared that it was written in the Shastras that the Mahomedans would step into the throne of Bengal. King Keshav feared that he was surrounded by a set of self-seekers who were hostile to his interest.

He therefore proceeded to Vikrampur to hold consultation with his brother, King Bishwarupa, for the defensive measures to be undertaken, when

तस्यामात्य पशुपतिरभूद् विश्वासघातं कृत् ।

लोभेन गौड़राज्यं यो यवनायार्पयत् खलः ॥

रामपालं गतं भूपं मंत्रणायानुजेन सः ।

विदित्वा पापं कृद् रात्रौ दुर्गं द्वारमपावृणोत् ॥

Joysen Biswas's *Baidyakul Panjika* (written in 1305 A.D.) Page 148, edited by Y. M. Sen Gupta, M.A. B.L., Vakil Calcutta High Court, and published from the "Truth" Press, 91, Chowringhee, Calcutta.

i.e. during the king's absence, his minister Pashupati, through sheer treachery, opened the gate of the fort and the Mahomedans got into it.

4. This was however a raid only—Bakhtiyar Khilji went away after the loot as the Mahomedans had not yet established a stronghold in that part of the country. They were occupying upto about 50 miles north of the Ganges. They had no possession south of the Ganges (Padma). Keshav did not return to the traitor-infested palace

at Nabadwipa. He stayed on at Rampal and Bishwarup built a second palace at Subarnagram and himself occupied it.

5. Keshav's son, Gada Sen (or Sada Sen), continued to rule as a representative of his father, but he too abandoned the Nabadwipa palace and transferred his capital to Nagor in Birbhum district. In the absence of the Central Government, the chiefs of Kotatabi and Tributary Mahals became independent of Nagar, and this weakened the power of Sada Sen materially. But he and his descendants for 4 generations bravely withstood the Mahomedan attacks till 1298, when Saptagram was conquered by Jafar Khan. But even then the area near the sea was free. It is not known who became the नवद्वीपाधिपति; apparently the palace was not occupied by him. But very likely he placed his forces at the disposal of the Mahomedans in their fights against king Sada Sen (perhaps his master's son). In the next Chapter, I have tried to explain why the Mahomedans took about a century to annex the Nagar Raj, although it was rendered weak and helpless.

6. In East Bengal after Keshav and Bishwarupa had passed away, Bishwarupa's two sons, Bhima Sen and Sundar Sen, ruled from Ram Pal and Subarnagram respectively. Though harassed by the Arakanese in the South East and the Mahomedans on the West, they carried on a vigorous administration. Bhim's grandson 'Shatrughna' is stated to be the historic Ballal Sen II whose family members in a body burnt themselves to death on the receipt of a wrong information that he had been defeated and killed in a battle with the Mahomedans. He himself followed the same course, on return from the battle field as a victor. Thus East Bengal also came under the Mahomedans in 1322.

7. Thus ended the illustrious Sen dynasty in Bengal, which has been described by contemporary writers as (*अवनेर्भूषणं सेनवंश*). The representatives of the dynasty who took refuge on the Himalyan hills after the disasters at Allahabad and Tirauri, however continued to exercise sovereign powers for centuries and the Himalyan hillsides hummed with stories of their heroic deeds. From the gazetteer of the Simla Hill States it is gathered that the descendants of these representatives still exercise ruling powers in the hill states of Mandi, Suket, Keonthal, Koti, Kishtwar, etc. Of them the Premier Prince is the Maharaja of Mandi, so well known for his enlightened administration. The rulers of these states still pride themselves on the length and purity of their descent.

8 In Southern India, the supremacy of the early Chalukyas was destroyed by the Rashtrakutas in about 750 A. D. and Chalukyas were penned in within the four corners of the Karnat country. In the first quarter of the 10th century, Shuk Dev Sen, (second son of Ashwapati, King of Tribeni on the bank of the Bhagirathi in Bengal) came to Karnat and established a feudatory kingdom under the Chalukyas in the Banabasi (Mysore) province. Shuk Sen was locally known as "Sen Varishtha" (*i.e.*, greatest of the Sens) and was frequently spoken of as "Senvarisha". This new feudatory prince and his descendants were held in the highest respect in Karnat. All the important titles enjoyed by the Chalukya princes themselves were bestowed on them. Moreover (1) as Brahmans hailing from Bengal, they were addressed as Chatta Devas and Bhatta Devas; (2) as physician Brahmans they enjoyed the titles of Kaviraj-Raj-Keshari and Atharva Vedanga Deva, and (3) as great performers of Yajna at Yajna Kunda, they were addressed

as Kunderajas. The new comers were very skilful warriors. With their aid, Chalukya king, Taila, overthrew the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas in 973 A. D. and set up a new Chalukya kingdom with capital at Kalyani. In 1007-8, when the safety of the newly founded Chalukya empire was endangered by the Chola encroachments on the South, it is these Sens who distinguished themselves in the warfare by pushing them back, and for this valorous act the title of "Obtainer of boon from Chamunda" was conferred on the Sen King of Banabasipura (Mysore). In 1019 the Parmars* of Malva having invaded the northern part of the Chalukya empire, the then Sen feudatory king of Banabasi (Kavi-raj-raj-Keshari Chatta Deva) under Chalukya king Jay Sinha made an advance on Dhar and defeated Bhoja Dev, completely dispersing the Malva troops. Chatta Deva then defeated the Traikutakas and took his stand on the other side of the Godavari with a view to prevent further incursions of the Parmars into the Chalukya empire. For these heroic deeds, he earned the title of "Guardian of the High Land".

9. It has already been stated that Chatta Deva (*alias* Samanta Sen of the Bengal plates) thereafter defeated the Chedis of Tripuri and led the Chalukya Army in an expedition against Karna Dev, the Chedi king of Mithila in 1039-40, the result of which was that a Chalukya kingdom was established in Mithila and Chatta Dev settled down permanently on the bank of the Bhagirathi in Bengal.

10. From the Mysore Inscriptional records, it is gathered that Chatta Dev (Samanta Sen) had three sons, but from the Bengal copper plates we know that he came back with one son only, Hemanta Sen (probably

* This expression which literally means "an enemy-killer" was applied to the Pratihar Rajputs.

the youngest of the three) whom he married to the Imperial Gupta (or Sur) family soon after his arrival. Two sons were therefore left by him in Karnat. As it was customary with the Chalukya overlords to appoint provincial governors *on hereditary lines* and as the relationship between the Chalukya overlords and the feudatory princes of the Banabasi province was very cordial, and further as Chatta Dev, just before his departure from the South, used to rule in two administrative areas, *viz.*, (A) Banabasi 12,000, and (B) The Barkur area in Tuluva (South Canara), it is quite natural that the eldest son was appointed governor of Banabasi 12,000, and the younger son was given charge of the area in Tuluva. From the inscriptions we find that Chamunda Rai Vinayaditya was appointed Mahamandaleswar of Banabasi in 1039, and he ruled the province upto 1063. We can therefore safely take Chamunda Rai as the eldest son of Chatta Deva (*alias* Samanta Sen), and this view is supported by the fact that the feudatory king of Banabasi province in 1050 was also known as "Kaviraj-raj-Keshari", — the family title of the Sen kings-*vide* last para in page 192 of Social and Political life in the Vijaynagar Empire (by Saletore).

11. The name of the second son ruling from Barkur in the Udipi and Uppinagadi taluqs of Tuluva (South Canara) has not come down to us. But it appears that the princes of this ruling family bore the common name of Ballal Ray. According to Hardy, the expression "Ballal" means a person coming from the highest stratum of society and we know that from the time of Mayur Varma onwards persons holding charge of administrative units in the Kadamba country were called Ballals. Members of Chatta Dev's family were therefore known as Ballals; and when the family was divided into two

ruling houses, that branch which reigned from Tuluva came to be called as Ballal Rayas,* and the elder branch ruling the Banabasi 12,000 from Dvarsamudra came to be called as "Hoysala Ballals",—the expression "Hoysala" being an echo of the family title of "Ashwapati" borne by their forefathers in Bengal.

12. In Tuluva, the Ballal Rayas were also known as "Bangar" Rajas. The valley over which they ruled was called Bengadi valley *e. g.* on an important peak of the Western Ghats, the ruins of a Ballal Ray Durga are still found overlooking the Bangadi valley. These Bangar Rajas under the name of Rayas ruled in many parts of South Canara. They held Mangalore in the Malabar coast, made friendly treaty with the Portuguese, and built the temple of Mangala Devi from which the name of the taluq was derived. A branch of this Bangar Raj family also ruled at Manjeshwar on an inlet of the Arabian Sea even down to the time of Tipu Sultan.

13. As regards the Hoysala Ballals, we know that the first king Chamunda Rai Vinayaditya "Satyashraya" who ruled from 1039 to 1063 ruled the Banabasi 12,000 with capital at Belgami. He was a powerful ruler, led incursions into neighbouring provinces and was a terror to the Gurjars, the Cholas, and the Cheras. The Hoysalas conquered the Halsi 12,000 of Belgaum district during the reign of Vishnu-varadhan (*alias* Bhatta Dev)

* During the Buddhistic period distinguished physicians were addressed by the Lamas as (1) "Kvi-ragyat-po" and (2) "Be-du-Ryai" (Vide Page 2). The Hindus shortened these designations into "Kaviraj" and "Raya". During the Mahomadan period, the term "Kavi raj" retained its original significance, but the word "Raya" was used to indicate any distinguished person irrespective of his avocation. As the ruling house of the Banabasi province belonged to a physician family, the rulers bore the title of "Kaviraj-raj-Keshari", but in the middle of the eleventh century when the family bifurcated into two branches—the senior branch ruling at Dvarsamudra in Banabasi (North Canara) and the junior branch ruling in South Canara (Tuluva), the former continued to be addressed as "Kaviraj-raj-Keshari", and the latter was addressed as "Raya".

who also destroyed the power of the Kalchuris in Bijapur district. King Bir Ballal of this dynasty defeated the Deogiri Yadavas and for about 20 years ruled Deogiri from his capital at Lakkundi. In 1192 the Hoysalas grasped the supreme Central power of the Chalukyas who had become very much enfeebled by that time but after about a century of rule, the Hoysala capital, Dorasamudra, was captured by Malik Kafur in 1310, and reduced to ruins by Muhammad Bin Tughlak in 1327.

14. Shortly after the destruction of the Hoysala power five brothers belonging to one of the Bangari Raya families of the Tuluva (South Canara) referred to above, and who were thus blood relatives of Hoysala Ballals began to create an independent kingdom to the South of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. Two of them (Harihar Ray and Bukka Ray) were the first two kings ruling from 1336 to 1376. The new kingdom grew so quickly that during the lifetime of the brothers, the Muhammadans were driven from Madura, the old Pandya capital. The Chola kingdom was also absorbed in the new-born state. The learned sage Madhavacharya Vidyananya, and his brother, Sayana, the famous commentator on the Vedas were ministers of the first four kings. Under the direction of these ministers, the capital of this growing empire was established at Vijaynagar, now represented by the extensive ruins at Hampi and the neighbourhood, in the Bellary district of Madras. In describing the city, Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador has written: "The city is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear has never heard that there existed anything to equal it in the world". The Rayas of Vijaynagar were engaged continually in fighting with their Mussalman rivals, — at first the Bahmani kingdom, and then the five Sultanates of the

Deccan. At last in 1565 at the battle of Talikote the Raja of Vijaynagar was defeated, and the kingdom was broken up and its component parts passed under the rule of various chieftains, some of whom had been feudatories of the Vijaynagar kings — and perhaps their blood relatives.

15. Princes of the Sen dynasty, both in Northern and Southern India were by tradition, worshippers of Mahashakti (Chamunda), but they respected other creeds also. It is well known that they encouraged the Jaina preachers. We know that in the court of King Lakshman Sen of Bengal (1119-1176) flourished the immortal Vaishnava poet, Joydeva, the composer of the Gita Gobinda, — while in the South, Hoysala king Vishnuvardhan (*alias* Bhatta Deva) (1104-41) was the patron of the great Vaishnava Savant Ramanujachari who harmoniously blended the two channels of Jñán and Bhakti in the worship of the supreme Being. Another great Vaishnava saint, Madhavacharya, — the preacher of the dual cult who was born in Udipi (South Canara) in 1199 during the reign of Bir Ballal flourished also under these Ballals.

CHAPTER XXXIX

GENEALOGY OF THE KARNATIC SEN FAMILY

“ पुण्या भागीरथी नदी विधौत राढ़ सद्गनि
पुरासीत् ब्राह्मणे सारस्वताख्ये वैद्यवंशजे
‘सेनोऽश्वपति नामतः एकः सामन्तभूपतिः’ ”

ASHWAPATI

Bir Sen
(Conqd. East Bengal)
|
Bikrama Sen
(Founded Bikramapur
and ruled there)

Shuka Deva Sen (*alias* Sridhalla)

“ आयुर्वेदद्युतिबोधन तत्परः ”

“ यजुषुद्धारः ”

कर्णाटे निजराज्यञ्च प्रतिष्ठापितवान्सुधी

Known as Senvarishtha or Senvarisha in
Southern India.

(910—940)

Nibhuja (*Alias* Manmatha=Lakshmi Devi or
“Sri” daughter of Adisur)

(940—965)

Raja Ashoka (*Alias* Pradyumna Sen)

“ क्रतुभिर्वरिष्ठः ” (965—990)

Bir Sena (*Alias* Dhir Sen) “ रिपुबली ”

(990 — 1010)

“ सौरीक्षिभिः सम्प्राप्ति घोषितः ”

Surrounded by Scholars of Astronomy.

Samanta Sena

“ Karnat Raj Martanda ”

(1010—1039)

In old age returned to live on the bank of the Ganges
(in about 1040)

Hemanta Sena (Born 1015?)

=Yaso Devi (Princess of the Gupta Raj family in
1042)

Bijoy Sena (1068—1101)
(Born 1045?)

=Bilasi Devi, daughter of Giridhar Sen of the
Adi Sur family m. 1080)
Ruled at Delhi from 1099 to 1118

Ballal Sen (Born 1083) (Minister Hari Ghosh)

- (a) Ruled in Bengal as representative of his father from 1101 to 1118
- (b) As king of Bengal and Delhi, ruled at Delhi from 1119 to 1169.
- (c) Died at Allahabad in 1169.

= 1st Wife Chalukya (Princess)
"Rama Devi"

= 2nd Queen—Princess of the Pal
family "Raj Lakshmi"

Lakshmana Sen = Tandra Devi or Tara Devi or Basu Devi
(1119—1176)

(daughter of Dharma Pala)

1. The Garhwals of Kanauj invaded and occupied Magadh for some time, but Magadh was reconquered towards the end of the reign.
2. Odra and Kalinga were conquered by him.
3. Kamrup was " "
4. Erected Victory Pillars at Benares and Allahabad.
5. Ruled in Bengal as representative of Ballal from 1119 to 1169.
6. As King from 1170 to 1176.
7. Died in 1176.

Madhov Sen (Crowned king in 1176)

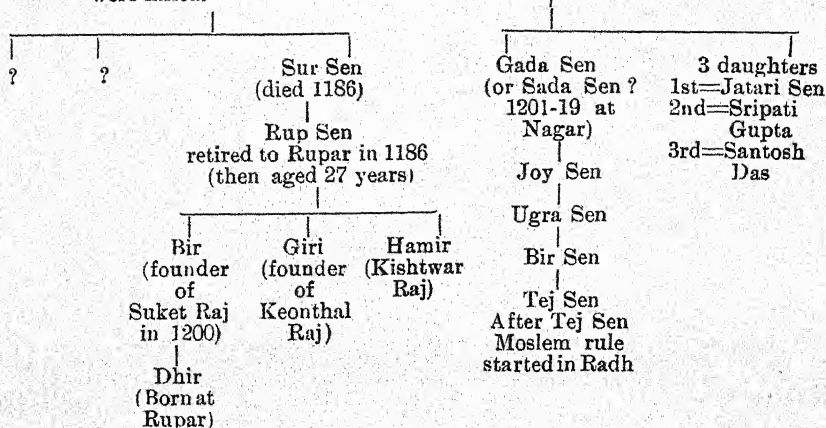
1. Remained with his grandmother at Prayag after his Coronation in 1176.
2. After her death in 1186 when he and the party were coming back to Bengal they were way laid at Allahabad by the Garhwals of Kanauj. Many were captured and many fled in different directions. Madhov and his son were killed.

Keshav
(Alias Lakshmaneya)

= daughter of Botu Das

- (a) Ruled as representative of Madhov from 1176 to 1186
- (b) As king from 1186 to 1200
- (c) Nabadwipa was raided by Mahomedans in 1200 A. D.

Bishwarup
(Rampal)
[See p. 192]



LAKSHMANA SEN

Madhov Sen
(See page 191)

Keshav Sen
(see page 191)

Bishwarup

Youngest son of Lakshman Sen
(Ruling at Rampal) (1176-1213) ?

=Bijoya Devi, daughter of Raghu Nath Sen.

Bhima Seen (1213-1251)
(reigned at Rampal)
= Great grand daughter
of Toyi Das,
named Sundari

Sunder Sen
(reigned at Subarna Gram)
= Great grand daughter of
Toyī Das named "Indira"

Daughter
= Poshupati
Gupta.

Kartika = Kamala (1251-85)
(daughter of Jaya Sen
Thakur)

One daughter=Rudra Das
Dannuj Madhav Roy 1289

Shatrughna
1285-1322
(2nd Ballal)

2 daughters
1st Bimala=Budha Das
2nd Sarala=Panchu Das

॥

Lakshman II

(Whole family burnt themselves to death.

Chandra

Rudra

(Taken care of by Nim Ketan Roy, trusted Officer.)

CHAPTER XL

THE KESARIS AND THE GANGAVANSA KINGS

(The facts in this chapter have been mainly collected from the Gazetteer of all Orissa districts including Gunjam and from late R. D. Bannerji's History of Bengal Part II).

In ancient times, the tract of country from the Bengal frontiers of Orissa to the river Godavari (a distance of about 500 miles) went by the name of Kalinga. After Ashoka's conquest of Kalinga in 261 B. C., it became for many centuries the head quarters of Buddhism in India, and in 275 A. D. the celebrated tooth relic of Buddha was obtained from here by the king of Ceylon. There was a maritime invasion of the country by the Yavanas who remained in possession of it for more than a century. During the Buddhistic period, the Brahmins were necessarily deprived of their priestly function and had to resort to more worldly pursuits, such as agriculture, service as cooks, etc. On the advent of the Kesari kings (who were descendants of the Chhota Nags, and consequently related to the Bakataka Satbahans) in the second century A. D., Brahmanism received a fresh start in that part of Kalinga in which they held their sway, *viz.*, the tract up to the valley of the Mahanadi which then came to be known as Utkal or Orissa. In his map Ptolemy has shown the whole sea-coast up to the Ganges as included in Maisola or Andhra desh. A fresh impetus to the revival of Brahmanism was given when the Kesaris came under the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas. (They were Samanta kings under the house of Aparmandar, who were the Mahasamantas of the Imperial Guptas). According to the Vaidik Brahmin Karika of Utkal.

राढीय वैद्य वंशीया विप्राः सारस्वता अमी ।

राढदेशं परित्यज्य चोडिष्यापामुपाश्रिताः ॥

वेदचर्चाविहीनौढे पुनर्वेदप्रवर्तनात् ।

राढागतवैद्यविप्राः वैदिका ब्राह्मणास्मृताः ॥

The Guptas sent a large number of Baidya Brahmins from Radh (Western Bengal) to reform the Hindu society in Orissa and Brahmanism again began to flourish, so that when Hiuen Tsang came in the 7th century he saw the Buddhist religion in a dying condition. The Kesari Kings ruled Orissa for more than 600 years. The wonderful ruins on the Udaigiri hill in Jajpur subdivision including the rock-cut well and the colossal rock-cut statue of Buddha appear, from inscriptions written in Nagri, to have been built by a Nag Raja. Many stately temples were built by the Kesaris which show the great hold which Hinduism obtained during their reign. The number and magnificence of the remains at Bhubhaneswar and elsewhere make it clear that the Kings who erected these great works must have held vast and populous dominions and must have been able to command vast resources. The art of architecture and sculpture must have been very highly developed to enable such huge and lavishly carved structure to be designed and executed. And this was possible because the Kesaris were closely related to the great Bakatakas. True to the tradition of the Nagas and Bakataks, the Kesaris never discouraged Buddhism. Both the religions flourished side by side — a fact which is corroborated by the presentation of Buddhist scriptures to the Chinese Emperor in the 8th century. The Mahayan type of Buddhist philosophy appears however to have been gradually supplemented by the Tantrik forms the Bodhisatwas, Bhairavas, Tárás, and Vajrajoginis.

2. The Kesari dynasty was terminated by the conquest and annexation of Utkal by the Gangavansa kings in the 11th century as stated below —

3. After the conquest of Southern India, Samudra Gupta restored each territorial unit to its vanquished prince with the solitary exception that he set up a ruling feudatory family in the area extending towards the north from the Godavari river, which is now known as the Eastern Ghats or the Northern Circars. It is well known that Samudra Gupta entrusted the administration of distant feudatory states to capable kinsmen, and so a trusted Brahman of Magadh — a kinsman, of the Imperial Guptas — was invested with the power of the feudatory chief with his capital at Pishtapur. According to the Vayu and the Brahmanda Puranas and the legendary history of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon, the name of the first ruler was "Guha" and he and the rulers succeeding him issued their charter in Sanskrit. Their family was known as the Magadh Dynasty. The name of one of the early rulers was Shaktivarman.

The next ones were — Chandra Varman

Vijaynandi Varman

Vijay Dev Varman changed the dynastic name of the family to "Shálankáyana Dynasty" in or after Skanda Gupta's time. They gradually extended their territories towards the south and reached as far as Nallore on the Coromandel coast (derived from "Chola — Mandala") which formed part of the kingdom of the famous Dravidian Rulers,— the Cholas, and thenceforward they began to add the word "Chola" to their name, in the same way as they adopted the surname of "Ganga" after they conquered the Bhagirathi valley subsequently. This explains why the Kalinga kings are sometimes referred to in Northern

India as "Chola" princes, They should not be confounded with the Dravidian Chola princes ruling in Madras and the Coromandal coast.

4. In the beginning of the 11th century, a Raja of this family conquered the country lying immediately north belonging to the Kesaris, and his son, Rajendra Chola Dev, subdued and annexed the "Odra-Vishoy" in 1021-23. He also conquered successively "Dandabhukti" (Midnapur), "Radh" (both south and north) and "Banga" and defeated the Pál Emperor himself in the battle field. The dominion of the Kalinga kings then extended from the Ganges to the Godavari. They had then the surnames of both "Chola" and "Ganga" and adding the two, they would sometimes be called as Chorangangas. The dynasty came to be known as "Ganga Vansam" from that time and the kings also assumed the title of "Gajapati". The Gajapati princes have given the country a long line of rulers, and their descendants even now hold considerable territorial possession. They had matrimonial alliances with the Imperial Guptas,—a princess of this family — Lady Kona Devi — having been married to Emperor Aditya Sen. Also they were as devout Vaishnavas as the Guptas, and by the joint efforts of the two Royal families, the most famous temple of Madhusudan on the Mandar hill was built.

5. A famous hero of this dynasty was Ananta Varma Choleganga, who made an incursion into Bengal in about 1070 with a fleet of fighting boats, defeated the Sura king of Radh, destroyed the capital of Uttara Radh (i. e. Rangamati) and levied taxes on both sides of the Bhagirathi river. He was however subsequently defeated by Bijoy Sen who had then declared himself as the king of Bengal. The great temple of Jagannath at Puri, the shrine of Gangeshwar in Jajpur, and also

the noted temple of Magheshwar were built during the reign of this king and his successor. His descendant, Narsing Deo I, who reigned from 1238 to 1264 built the well known temple of Konarak on the sea to the north of Puri.

6. During the reign of this King in 1243 Tugral Tugan Khan invaded Jajpur, but he had to go back after suffering a defeat. In the next year the Jajnagar army marched into Radh as far as Nagar, met the Mahomedans in the battle field and completely routed them. Maddened with victory, they proceeded as far as Gaur which they besieged. The Governor of Bengal, Mahammad Ujbak then himself took the field, but he was also defeated and his white elephant was captured. But at last the Mahomedans invaded Jajnagar again and completely defeated the Kalinga Army. During the reign of his grandson, the Kalinga Army invaded Radh and Barendra, but the Governor of Lakhnauti, Tugral Khan, invaded Jajnagar in retaliation in 1279 and sacked it. In the third quarter of the 14th century we find the king of Kalinga in possession of Mahakoshal as well. In the beginning of the 16th century, Hossain Shah invaded Orissa, but King Pratap Rudra Dev besieged him in the Mandaran fort though ultimately he could not be successful through the treachery of his own officers.

7. On the death of King Pratap Rudra Deo of this line (also known as Ganjam Rajas) dissension arose among the family members, and their power gradually declined till the Mussalmans invaded Orissa from the north under general Kalapahar (a Brahmin converted to Islam) who slew king Mukunda Dev and overran the country in 1560.

8. It is existence of this powerful Kingdom at the back of the Raja of Rarh (descendant of Keshav Sen)

which enabled the Nagara House to maintain independence against Mahomedan invasions from Gaur for about a century after their raid on Nadia in 1200 or 1201 A. D. A wedge had been driven into the two Sen kingdoms of Nagar and Rampal by the extension of the Mahomedan territory from Gaur to Nadia, the extremity of which was guarded by the नवदीपाधिपति and the Nagar House was completely sequestered from obtaining any help from Rampal. But for the Kalinga power in the South therefore the Nagar House could not have been able to struggle so long.

9. King Pratap Rudra Dev of Ganjam was a devout Vaishnava and had the honour of prostrating himself at the feet of Lord Sri Chaitanya and of having received spiritual instruction from Him. He was also as great an authority in Smriti in the south as Pandit Raghunandan Smarta Shiromani of Bengal (an ex-student of Mithila) was in Northern India.

CHAPTER XLI

CONCLUSION

In the course of these researches, it has been noticed that the rulings given by the above two authorities in Smriti Shashtra are widely different in the matter of regulation of Hindu social customs. As it is undesirable that any anomalies should be allowed to continue, it is hoped that the leaders of Hindu society will take up the question with a view to securing a uniformity of procedure. One instance of anomaly which has come to my notice is quoted below:—

(a) From pages 208 and 209 of the Ganjam district Gazetteer, published from the Madras Government Press it is noticed that—

On the death of a relative, Brahmins and others mourn for 10 days, and bathe on the 11th day. The well-to-do Brahmans perform daily rites for 10 days commencing from the day on which the dead body is burnt,—others from the 7th day only. On the 11th, the funeral rites are performed by the offering of rice balls. Sudras do not perform daily ceremonies but on the 11th day they bathe, replace their earthen pots by new ones, and feed their relatives and Brahmans according to their ability.”

(b) Against the above, we know that the practice prevailing in the north on the rulings given by Pandit Raghunandan Smarta Shiromani (who also flourished about the same time) is that a Sudra must undergo a period of mourning for 30 days before he can perform the funeral rites and offer rice-balls to the departed one. The anomaly between the two practices is so prominent, and

works so hard on the Sudras in the North that it requires to be remedied at no distant date.

2. The opinion of King Pratap Rudra Deo appears to be more sound than the opinion of Pandit Raghunandan. The former as a king and ruler carefully weighed the requirements of his people in every stratum of society. While the latter was an irresponsible academician. During the period of rule of Sen kings, they used to “चट्ट - भट्ट जातीयान् - जानपदान् - ब्राह्मणान् - मानयन्ति - बोधयन्ति, समादिशन्ति च” (*vide* the Sens' copper plates). With that wholesome control gone, the Pandits became irresponsible; their vision was narrowed; and they became too egoistical to think of the good of the society at large. I cite below some of the disastrous effects on the Hindu Society caused by the rulings of Pandit Raghunandan and his followers.

1. It is well known that there was no restriction to the reconversion of Buddhists to Hinduism in the ancient days, and millions of such reconversions took place after the advent of Shankaracharya. In Bengal King Ballal in the 12th century permitted the reconversion and absorption in the Hindu Society of numerous persons formerly professing Buddhistic faith, and called them a new branch (नवशाख) of the Hindu Society Tree. But twigs, foliages, and flowers, did not grow on that tree because, to humour the proselytizing Mahomedan conquerors, who had then just come, the priestly Pundits (who were then considered to be the leaders of the society) stopped such reconversion and absorption altogether. The inevitable result was that a large number of men representing the remnants of Buddhists straight away embraced Islam. When Raghunandan took up the leadership of the Hindu Society in the 16th century he treated this question as sealed apparently for fear of the Mahomedans then in power.

3. An autocratic ruling of Pandit Raghunandan was that there cannot be any other Varnas in the Hindu society in Kaliyuga than the 'Brahmanas and the Sudras'. It is needless to say that ignorance of the existence of the great Rajput Kshatriya houses in Rajputana and elsewhere is at the root of this ruling, to which the other provinces have paid scant attention. Even in Bengal, the professors of Smriti Shastra of the Raghunandan school have commendably started classifying the various castes under 'Kshatriyas' and 'Vaisyas' as well. A set of uniform rules for the regulation of such classification is however wanting. The opinions of the Pandits differ from each other in many cases.

Pandit Raghunandan's ruling referred to above had the result of relegating many Kshatriya and Vaisya families of Bengal to the Sudra rank. Many gentlemen must have resented this Brahmanical oppression, and either left the province or embraced Islam.

4. Another ruling of Raghu Nandan was न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यात्. No consideration should be given to the Sudra — They shall not be helped to learn Sanskrit. Religious instructions shall not be given to them. No Brahman shall officiate as priests for performing religious ceremonies in the homes of Sudras, under the ban of excommunication from his community. It is clear that the effect of the ruling was to drive away a large number of Sudras from the Hindu fold in sheer disgust and embrace the dominant Mahomedan religion with a bitterness of heart against the Hindus.

5. Again from our daily observations, our experience is that (1) a race, the members of which possess more physical vigour than intellectual energy, produces a larger number of male issues than female ones, and conversely

(2) the class possessing more intellectual energy than physical force produces a larger number of female issues than male ones. Thus while in (1) there is a paucity of girls, in (2) there is a paucity of boys, and to effect a marriage match the industrialists have to pay cash premium to secure a girl, while the intellectual class have to pay heavy premium to secure a suitable boy. The seers solved this difficulty in the ancient days by stopping widow marriage among the intellectual classes, and permitting such marriage among the industrialists. The custom of widow marriage among the industrialists and day labourers prevails every where except in Bengal because Pandit Raghunandan stopped it under the threat that the parties would then convert themselves into untouchables. Now let us see what the effect of this ruling has been on these people. For the celebration of his marriage, a man of this class has under the present conditions, to spend about 400 to 500 rupees and the idea of entering into a married life he entertains only after he has laid by about 200 to 250 rupees. This opportunity does not come to many, but those who are fortunate enough to accumulate any thing at all, cannot scrape together Rs. 200 till they are 35 or 40 years old—to celebrate the ceremony he must spend about 200 to 250 rupees more. This he borrows at a high rate of interest from the village Mahajan and then joyfully brings home a girl—wife aged no more than 11 or 12 years. In the course of 4 or 5 years his debt has doubled; he could not pay interest to the Mahajan not to speak of paying a part of the principal. The Mahajan sues him in court, attaches his little earthly possessions, but even then a part of the debt remains to be discharged. The man who was considered to be a substantial agriculturist just before his marriage is now driven into the streets with

all his land and farming and bullocks gone. And at last, depressed and diseased, he makes an exit from this world, leaving a wife (perhaps without any issue) at the mercy of his kith and kin who themselves live a half-starved life. Society does not get any offspring from such girl-widows and on the whole the numerical strength of the caste declines.

6. We can perceive what mischief has been done to society by the narrow, short-sighted ruling of Pandit Raghunandan who had no knowledge of the happenings in the Hindu society beyond Bengal. This mischief can even now be set right by bringing Bengal into line with the rest of India and introducing widow marriage in the industrial classes.

7. Punjab bore the brunt of the invasions of foreign hordes from time immemorial, and these non-Hindu foreigners settled for the first time in the Punjab and they were a dominant people. It is understandable why the percentage of Hindu population is lower than the Mahomedan percentage there. But why should the Hindu percentage be less than the Mahomedan percentage in remotest Bengal, where no such large scale invasions and oppressions ever took place. The answer apparently is that it is due to tyrannies of the priestly Pandits as has been explained above.

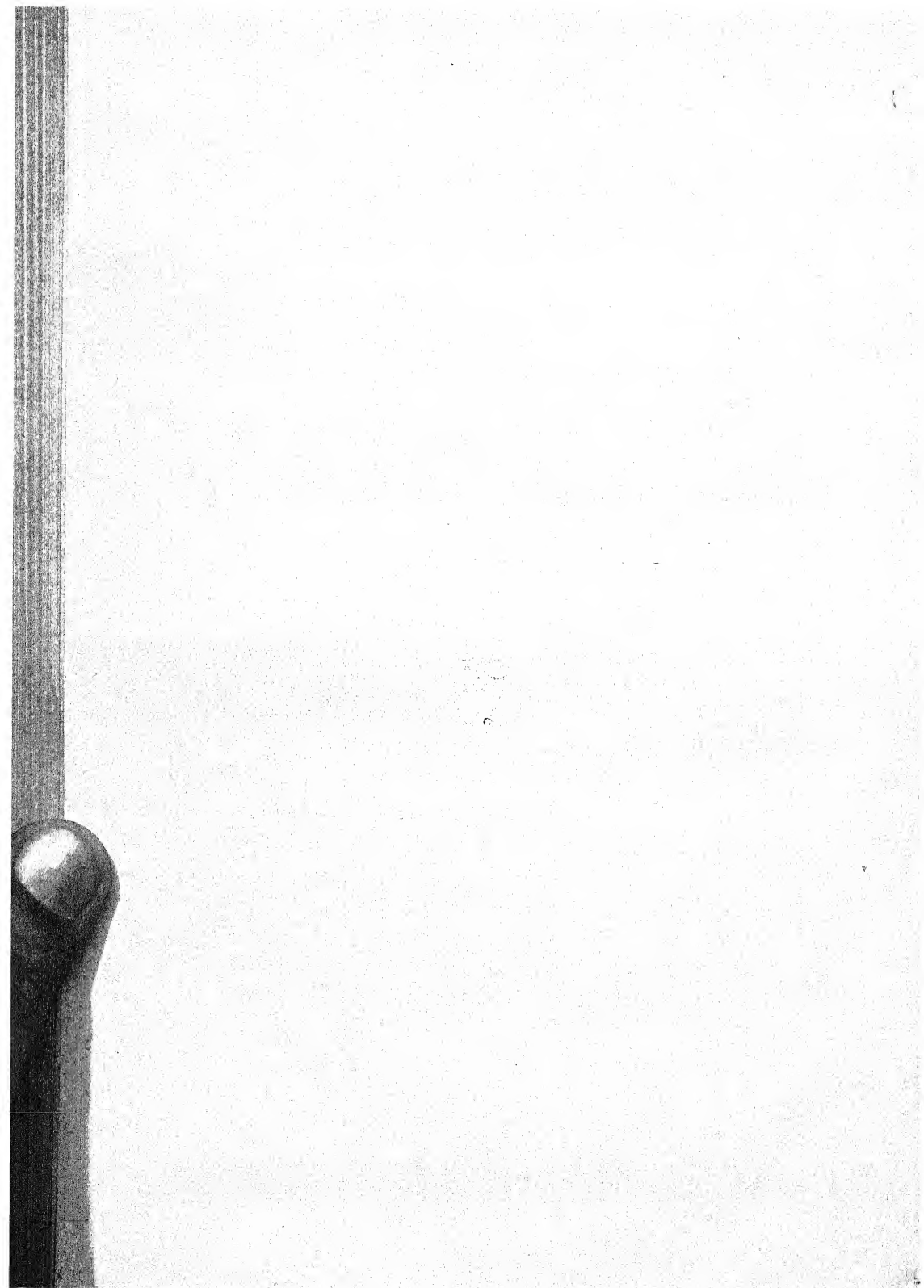
It seems that extinction is almost inevitable to the Hindus of Bengal unless their house is put in order now.

THE

KINGS

OF

KAMRUP



CHAPTER XLII.

THE KAMRUP KULA

The history of Kamrup remains a blank upto 300 B. C. although Kamrup, Prag Jyotish, and Lauhitya are mentioned in the Epics from which we gather that it was a place of learning and culture in very ancient times. In pre-historic times, Northern Bengal, i.e., the tract which lay to the north of the Padma river belonged probably to the kings of Prag Jyotish, but Chandra Gupta Maurya absorbed the whole of Bengal to the south of of Jalpaiguri, so that the Empire of Ashoke included the whole of Pundravardhan. During the time of Samudra Gupta (in the fourth century) Kamrup was a frontier kingdom under him. Vide Fleet's Corp: Inscrpn. Indicarum Volume III page 14.

2. In ancient times Sun worship was prevalent in Kamrup, and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji assigned some of the ruins found in Tejpur to a huge temple of the Sun. (Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India 1924-25) Evidences of Sun worship are still to be found in the ruins of temples in Nowgong, Goalpara and Gauhati. Perhaps the name "Prágjyotish" is due to the prevalence of this worship in ancient times, but its general use gradually ceased.

3. Buddhism was very much prevalent in Kamrup and for some centuries it was a centre of Buddhistic culture. All the forms of religion now prevailing in Assam including some of the rites of the Kacharis, Chutias, etc. are tinged with some form of Buddhism.

4. Peliott wrote in 1904 that at least from the second century B. C. regular trade routes by land existed between Eastern India and China through Upper Burma and

Yunan. Successive hordes of people from Tibet, Burma, Yunan, Indo-China and other eastern countries entered Assam by the land routes through Bhutan, the Aka, Duffla, Abor and Mishmi countries, the Honkong valley and the valley of Manipur. According to Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, the Buddhist priests of Szchuen came to India by one of these routes during the time of Maharaja Sri Gupta at the end of the third century A.D.

5. It was universally acknowledged in Kamrup kingdom that all the reigning princes were descended from a man called "Narak". Hiuen Tsang has described them as a line of Brahman Kings, and Pt. Nagendra Nath Basu has written that they were Nagar Brahmans. I agree with Pt. Basu. I have met with educated Hindus in Delhi pronouncing and writing the word "Brindavan" as "Bindravan" and the word "Bridhhi" as "Birdhi". It is just possible in the same way that the word "Nagar" was first pronounced and written as "Narag", and then as "Narak" in Kamrup. But how could a Nagar Brahman come to settle in this far corner of India?

6. In Chapter VIII of this book we have seen that the Imperial Kanvas of Magadh were followed immediately by the Satbahans (*viz.* Bharshiva Nagas of Padmavati). But they could hardly live there for more than 50 years in safety in view of the whirl wind onrush of Vanasphera to Magadh in about 90 to 120 A.D. The Nagas or Nagar Brahmans left Pataliputra in hurry and some of them retreated into the forest areas of West Bengal forming the Panchakot kingdom. It is just possible that some of the other Nagar Brahmans marched across the Gangetic Valley and retreated eastwards into the Brahmaputra Valley in Kamrup. The headman of this band of refugees must have been locally known as Narak.

7. In course of time, Pushyavarma, a descendant of this Narak, occupied the throne of Kamrup early in the 4th century and we find that when Samudra Gupta came to Kamrup in his career of conquest, Balavarma, the grand son of Pushyavarma was the reigning king. Balavarma was vanquished and probably retreated into Burma and founded a kingdom* there, and then the question arose as to who would occupy the Kamrup throne.

8. It is well known that Samudra Gupta was most generous in his dealings with his fallen adversaries. He defeated the Imperial Nagas and Bakatakas in numerous battles, but restored each vanquished king to his throne. He made them all his friends, and also contracted matrimonial alliances with them. We find that he gave his son (Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya) in marriage to Princess Kuber Naga of the Imperial Naga family, while his grand daughter, Prabhabati Gupta was married to King Rudra Sen Bakatak. But upto the time of his victory in Kamrup such generous treatment was not extended to Kalyan Varma, the last Nagar or (Kot) King of Pataliputra whom he had defeated and captured, and who was deprived of the Magadh Rajya by him. A noble soul, like Samudra Gupta would naturally think of the claim of Kalyan Varma to the Kamrup throne; and it is evident that he actually did consider it favourably and installed him king of Kamrup as will appear from the annexed list of Kamrup Kings taken from the late Rakhal Das Banerji's History of Bengal (in Bengali) which shows that the name of the successor of Balavarma (the opponent of Samudra Gupta) was Kalyanvarma and that with the application of 20 years' average rule for each king, Kalyan Varma is found to have flourished in about the same age in which Samudra Gupta came to this part. (vide page 229).

* According to tradition, Bali took refuge in Pátal i.e. near the sea coast. I should think it referred to Cambodia (otherwise known as Kamboj). —P.R.

9. In Chapter VIII of this book we have seen that as a result of the victory in the Kushan war, a prince of the "Chhota Naga" Ruling family of Panchakot in West Bengal was installed on the Magadh throne by the Imperial Nagas of Nagpur Nandi Bardhan (in C. P.) under the name "Sundar Varma", but he was killed in battle and the throne was occupied by Chandra Gupta. After Chandra Gupta had reigned for some time, the Council of Ministry at Magadh seized the opportunity of his absence from the head-quarters and notified to him (then at Allahabad) that he was not wanted back at Pataliputra and that in his place, Sundar Varma's son, Kalyan Varma had been installed by them on the Magadh throne. There was thereupon another war between Samudra Gupta (Chandra Gupta's son) and Kalyan Varma, then reigning King of Magadh. In this war Kalyan Varma was defeated and captured, and in Samudra Gupta's victory pillar at Allahabad a reference has been made to this battle.

10. The Hindu world was shocked at the death of Sundar Varma in his battle with Chandra Gupta (his adopted son) and they accused Chandra Gupta as a criminal. When the Council of Ministry installed Kalyan Varma on the Magadh throne, there were therefore great rejoicings, and the auspicious occasion was immortalized in a drama composed by a lady poet in a Bakatak Chief's Court. We may assume that the general body of Hindus were full of sympathy with Kalyan Varma when his throne was usurped by Samudra Gupta and he was surrounded by a devoted band of adherents who followed and guarded him. These adherents (Nagar Brahmans and Vaidik Brahmans) followed Kalyan Varma to Kamrup when the throne of Kamrup was offered to him by Samudra Gupta.

11. As the Panchakot kings spread themselves up to Orissa, we find an explanation here as to why the

Bhaumakara kings of Orissa as well as the Bhaumapal* kings of Kamrup used the same name suffix of "Tunga". These men were settled in different parts of the Kamrup kingdom, those belonging to the Kaundinya Gotra being settled on the banks of the Kundin river in Nowgong district. They were worshippers of Mahashakti and Mahadev. The name "Kamrup" became prominent when Tantrik worship and the shrine of Kamakhya attained prominence early in the 5th century A. D., while the earliest copper plates show that Shaivism also equally flourished here.

12. In the earlier Chapters of this book we have seen that the Nagar Brahmins enthusiastically took measures for the uplift of the masses and the spread of Shaiva cult among them. In their new home Kamrup they followed the same course. Their missionary activities were not confined to Kamrup kingdom only. In the pursuit of this mission they made peaceful penetration into territories beyond their frontier in the east. Through the trade routes that already existed, they emigrated and founded Colonies not only in Upper Burma, but also in the Upper Valleys of the Irrawadi, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red river, and it is a historical fact that there was a Hindu Kingdom in Yunnan known as Nanchuo.

13. Between Nanchuo and the Indian frontier and to the east of the Patkoi range, was the Brahman kingdom of Tatisin, and beyond the Chindwin river was another Brahman kingdom. The Indians established kingdoms also at Prome, Tagaung, and Lower Pagan besides Laos (known as Malav), Cambodia (Kamboja) and Anam (Champa). Colonel Girini in his "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography" pp. 122-123 writes:—"From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf, we trace a continuous string of petty states using Sanskrit and Pali

* Please see also the foot-note at page 229.

languages in official documents after the Indu style employing Brahman priests on ceremonial occasions. Among such Indu monarchs are those ruling in Tagong, Upper Pagan and Senwi in Burma, in Muang-hong, Chieng, Rung, Muang Khwan, and Dasrna in the Lao country, and in Agranagar (Hanoi) and Champa in Tokin and Annam."

14. Hiuen Tsang has stated that the Bhauma kings of Kamrup were Brahmans and staunch Shaivas. As the kings of Kamboja, Tatisin and Chindwin valley were also Shaiva Brahmans, we have got to assume that the representatives of the Nagar Brahman kings accompanied by their priests carried the Brahmanical culture to Burma, Indo China, and the islands of Indian Archipelago. In "Myson" inscription of king Prakashdharma Vikranta Varman dated 657 A.D., it is stated that the founder of the Kamboja kingdom comprising modern Cochin China, Cambodia, and parts of Siam, was a Brahman called Kaundinya. As the family appellation of this royal house was "Dharma Maharaja" and as the same appellation was also used by the kings of the Kadamba country in Southern India, some scholars are of opinion that Kaundinya must have sailed to Cambodia from the Kadamba country where a large number of Kaundiya Brahmans are still found. But on the authority of the verse in the Manjusri Mula-kalpa which states that the kings of the "Kamrup kula" will rule the Mlechchha countries all around,—in the bays of the sea as well as in the valleys of snowy mountains, late Prof : K. P. Jaiswal in his Imperial History of India page 32 has held that the Kamrup Kings ruled these countries very early. Perhaps the founder hailed from Southern India, but subsequently the Kaundinya Brahmans of Kamrup succeeded them.

15. The kings of Kamrup who as stated above were

Nagar Brahmans, and are described as belonging to the Bhaga Datta family may conveniently be divided into four Classes *viz.*

- (a) Pushya Varma Dynasty—which started the reign from about 290 A. D. till the 3rd king was defeated by Samudra Gupta in about 350.
- (b) Bhauma-Pala-dynasty—which was set up by Samudra Gupta with the installation of Kalyan Varma on the throne in about 350 till 655 when at the time of the last king (*i.e.*, the successor of Bhaskar Varma) the dynasty was uprooted by the Salastamba Branch.
- (c) Salastambha dynasty or Mlechchhadhinath dynasty—which started to rule at Kamrup in 655 but completely lost its power in 985 A. D. when Brahma Pala of the old Bhauma Pal dynasty wrested the throne.
- (d) Brahma Pala dynasty or the later Bhaumapal dynasty—which ruled from 985 A. D. till about 1115, after which the throne passed into the possession of Vijoy Sen king of Bengal.

16. It is necessary to say something about the antecedents of the Salastambha dynasty first. From the title “Mlechchhadhinath” given to the kings of this line, it is clear that this dynasty originally ruled somewhere in Burma or Indo-China, but came back to Kamrup territory and founded a feudatory kingdom with capital at Harupeshwar in Tejpur district but no definite information is available as to when they first settled as king in Tejpur.

17. The Salastambhas have been described under various names in various places — e.g. In the Srimad Bhagvat Gita we find them described as sons of Bali or Bána. In the inscriptions, they have been designated as Mlechchhadhinaths for having once ruled in the Mlechchha country in Burma and Indo-China. They were also referred to as Kambojas, because their forefathers ruled in Kamboja or Cambodia. I have stated above that these Kambojas or Mlechchhadhinaths returned to India and settled first in Tezpur early in the sixth Century. That they extended their territories towards the Himalyan hills, would appear evident from Cantos 66 and 109 of the Márkandeya Purána (composed probably in the 6th Century) where reference has been made to the existence of a deep forest named Guru Vishala, which was frequented by the Siddhas in “very mountainous” Kamrup. Pargiter has held that this city must have been situated in the Himalayas and other scholars have expressed the opinion that “Guru-Vishala” was the same as “Guru Kula” near the Bhutan boundary.

As Bhutan as a separate administrative entity has not been mentioned in the Allahabad Victory Pillar of Samudra Gupta, it is likely that the area at present comprising Bhutan was for administrative purposes shared by the Kings of Kamrup and Nepal (mentioned in the Victory Pillar), and that the Márkandeya Purána referred to the city and the forest, (now lying in Bhutan but then) lying in the kingdom of Kamrup. The Salstambhas or Kambojas were staunch Shaivas. Having extended their territories up to the borders of Nepal, they built up many temples of Shiva in Bhutan, Darjeeling (derived from the name of Shiva, “Durjay Lingam”) and Jalpaiguri (derived from the name of Shiva Jalpeshwar). From Chapter XXV, we have seen

that in the middle of 7th century, Nepal was being governed by the great "Machendra Nath" who was the Patron Saint of the valley. Attracted by his piety and saintliness, Chinese pilgrims continually visited Nepal, and missions were also sent from Nepal to China. The Kambojas being in the east of Nepal also came under the influence of Machendra* Nath's cult (popularly known as the Nath cult). In the 9th century, during the reign of Deva Pal, they made an unsuccessful raid on Northern Bengal but in the 10th century during the reign of Emperor 2nd Bigraha Pal, they invaded and occupied a part of Pundravardhan and founded a kingdom in Dinajpur under the name of "Bánagarh". After the death of 2nd Bigraha Pal, his son Mahipal re-conquered the lost tract and cleared Pundravardhan of the Kambojas, who then retreated apparently to the east in Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Behar etc.

18. They grasped the Kamrup throne in 655 and lost the throne in 985, and during this period it has been ascertained that 14 kings of this line ruled at Kamrup. As the Baragaon inscription of King Ratnapal records that 21 kings of the Salastambha dynasty exercised ruling power, the first seven of them must have ruled in Tejpur. On the basis of 20 to 22 years' rule for each king we would therefore be nearer the mark if we say that they returned from the Mlechha country towards the end of the 5th century. Just about this time Emperor Narsingha Gupta (who was then ruling from Ujjayini) was engaged in a life and death struggle with the Huns. The founder of this feudatory dynasty should in the ordinary course, have taken an

* There is a story current in Assam that Matsyendra Nath once visited the Kamrup Rajya, and while there fell a victim to the charms of the female monarch of Kadali sub-kingdom of Nowgong (otherwise known as Nérirajya). It is his disciple Gorakshanath who rescued him from her snares.

oath of allegiance to the Imperial throne before declaring himself as a king at Harupeshwar. This was apparently not done,—perhaps due to the preoccupation of the Emperor with the Huns. After the Huns were crushed with the help of General Yashovardhan, the Emperor sent that General with the Imperial Army (perhaps augmented by the Bengal Branch of that army in its marches through Magadh and Pundra Vardhan) to Harupeshwar to demand an explanation for his defiance of the Imperial dignity. A battle was fought in which Salastambha was defeated.* The vanquished king then took the oath of allegiance and peace was concluded; and it appears that he gave his daughter in marriage to a prince of the Imperial Gupta family of Malva (subsequently known perhaps as the 3rd Kumar Gupta, grandson of Krishna alias Gobinda Gupta who was the younger son of Vikrama-ditya the Great).* This third Kumar Gupta (who started the later Gupta dynasty at Gaur) as well as his son Damodar Gupta were at daggers drawn with the Maukharis. They fought and

*The incidence of this battle between the Imperial Gupta king of Malva (a devout Vaishnava) and the Salastambha king of Tezpur (a devout Shaiya) resulting in the latter's defeat, and the conclusion of peace after solemnisation of his daughter's marriage with a prince of the Imperial House has evidently been referred to in Chapters 62, and 63, Skanda 10 (Uttarkhanda) of Srimad Bhagvatgita where:

- (1) Lauhitya desh has been described as Shonitakhyapura.
- (2) King of Tezpur (locally called "Salastambha"—perhaps because of his tall, slim, and strong stature has been described as "Bāna" (meaning an "arrow").
- (3) The above king has been described as a Son (descendant) of "Bali" or "Balavarma", the opponent of Samudragupta, who after suffering a defeat from the latter retreated into "Patal desh" perhaps the sea-board of Cambodia and from where Salastambha appears to have returned.
- (4) The Princess — a daughter of the East "Prāgyotish Pura" has been described as "Usha Devi", meaning the Goddess of Dawn.
- (5) The prince has been described as the grandson of Krishna, and the actual name of the grandfather of the 3rd Kumar Gupta (his precoronation name not available) was Krishna alias Govinda.

defeated the Maukharis whose descendants swore to avenge the wrongs done to them with the help of their close relative, Harshavardhan.

19. After the above General's departure, one of the kings of the Bhaumapala dynasty of Kamrup perhaps Sthita Varma appears to have taken possession of a part of Pundravardhan and this led to the invasion of Kamrup by King Mahasen Gupta of Gaur. He with the aid of his Mahasamanta king Shashanka of Karnasubarna defeated Susthita Varma, the Bhaumpala king of Kamrup, early in the 7th century (vide Aditya Sen's Apsad Inscription written in 672 A. D.). But subsequently bent on avenging the defeat inflicted on his father, Bhaskar Varma formed an alliance with Harshavardhan and succeeded not only in reconquering the lost area, but also in driving Shashanka out of Gaur and Karnasubarna which were absorbed in the Kamrup kingdom. Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. Vol. III page 203. It is just possible that Shashanka fell in fighting with Harshavardhan and Bhaskarvarma sometime between 636 and 639. We find that in 642 Gaur and a part of Rarh were in Bhaskar Varma's possession. King Madhava Gupta of Gaur had then to take an oath of allegiance to Harshabardhan, but as Madhav's son and successor, Aditya Sen became independent in 646, it appears that Bhaskar Varma's hold over the above tracts lapsed before that year. Bhaskar died in 650 and it appears that he was succeeded by Abanti Varma who was a weak prince. The Salastambhas of Harupeshwar revolted and uprooted the Bhaumpala dynasty in 655 A. D.

20. The Salastambhas had become more friendly with the Imperial Guptas than the Bhaumpals of Kamrup after the matrimonial alliance with the imperial Guptas, and the Gupta era was freely used by them in their

official documents and inscriptions. They occupied the Kamrup throne and ruled till 985 A. D. The first Kamrup king of this line was probably Jaitunga Varma and the name of the last prince was Tyagsinha. Applying an average period of 20 years' rule to each king, there should have been 17 kings reigning in Kamrup from Jay Tunga to Tyag Singh but it is on record that altogether 14 kings of the Salastambha line ruled at Kamrup during this period.

21. It is for consideration how the excess of these 3 can be accounted for. It is well known that in the second quarter of the 8th century, Harsha Varma was reigning at Kamrup. It is also recorded in the inscriptions found in Assam and Nepal that for a time he was the lord of Gaur, Odra, Kalinga and Koshala as well. He gave his daughter Rajyamati in marriage to king Joydeva of the Gupta line of kings in Nepal (vide Chap. XXV) and the writings in the Nepal inscription of king Joydev, have by some scholars been taken to mean that his father-in-law (king Sri Harsha of the Bhaga Datta family) had *conquered all* these tracts as well as *Kamrup*. It is therefore to be presumed that he did not belong to the Salastambha line (then ruling in Kamrup) but came and captured the Kamrup throne as an invader from *outside*. Where did he come from? Dr. Bhandarkar has held that he was a descendant of Bhaskar Dev *i.e.* belonged to the Bhauma dynasty, but he has not mentioned from where Sri Harsha came. We know that immediately after the death of Shashanka, Bhaskar Dev was in possession of Gaur and Karnasubarna (*i.e.* West Ruri or Manbhum in Bengal) and from Karnasubarna he issued a Copper plate in about 642. He however lost these territories after the death of Harshvardhan, as King Aditya Sen of Gaur became independent in 646. He must have

gone back to Kamrup after this and in fact he died there in 650. Before leaving Karnasubarna, however, he appears to have left behind a son to look after his possessions in Manbhum (which was also the original home of his ancestor, Kalyan Varma) and this son continued to live in Manbhum Orissa as a tributary king under the Imperial Guptas. Sri Harsha appears to have been a grand son or great grandson of Bhaskar Dev through this tributary king, and consequently a contemporary of Emperor Jibita Gupta II of Gaur. In reviewing the political history of this period and the one immediately preceding it, we find that after the death of Maukhari King Grahavarma of Kanauj at the hand of Gupta Raja, Deva Gupta of Malav, the Maukharis vowed vengeance on the Imperial House. In about the middle of the 6th century, Emperor Kumar Gupta III had to fight with Maukhari King Ishan Varma in which the latter was killed. Kumar Gupta burnt himself at Prayag as a Prayaschitta for killing a Jnati, but the Maukharis would not make peace with the Guptas. During the reign of Kumar's successor (Damodar Gupta), they restarted the fight, being flushed with successes in their battles with the Huns. But the Maukharis were defeated in this fight also. In about the middle of the 7th century Emperor Aditya Sen gave his daughter in marriage to Maukhari King, Bhog Varma with a view to composing the differences between the two houses. But their animosity still continued. When Jibita Gupta II was in the occupation of the Imperial throne of Gaur, a very powerful king under the name of "Yasho Varma", belonging to the Maukhari family, arose in Kanauj. As a Maukhari, he was a sworn enemy of the Imperial Guptas. He swooped down on Gaur, and killed Jibita Gupta II in the early part of the second quarter of the 8th century. Sri Harsha appears to have taken possession of Gaur, Magadh, Orissa and Koshala during the interregnum and

also to have taken possession of Kamrup thereafter. But he could not find it easy to rule the Kamrup Kingdom, where he was treated as a foreigner. His personal attendance there was absolutely necessary. And the result of it was that there was no king to enforce law and order in Gaur Magadh, Orissa and Koshal. The situation was most unsatisfactory and therefore there was chaos and confusion in the country and matsyanyaya prevailed. Yasho Varma was driven out of the Kanauj throne by the efforts of Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir who earned the epithet of Muktapir *i.e.* deliverer of people from oppression. In Kamrup the Salastambhas continued to give trouble to Sri Harsha and his descendants, so that no more than two kings belonging to the Bhauma dynasty succeeded Sri Harsha and the Kamrup kings lost all their powers in Pundravardhan, after Gopal was elected to occupy the Imperial throne at Gaur. The Kamrup throne was recaptured by the Salastambhas towards the end of the 8th century, from Sri Harsha's line and this explains the excess in the number of kings actually ruling, over 14,—the number reported as belonging to the Salastambha dynasty during this period. (vide page 230 also).

22. The first two or three of these later Salastambha kings were powerful enough but the subsequent kings were weak. One of them (perhaps Jayamalla Birbahu, grea grandson of Pralambha) had to suffer a defeat at the hand of king Jay Pal of Gaur in the third quarter of the 9th century. On the death of the last king, Tyag Singha, without issue, the people elected Brahma Pal as their King in 985 A. D. because he was a Bhauma.

23. This later branch of the Bhauma Pal dynasty is also known in history as the Brahmapal dynasty after

the name of the first prince who ruled from 985 to 1000. The other kings were:—

2. Ratna Pal (1000-1030)
3. Purandar Pal (1030-1045)
4. Indra Pal (1045-1060)
5. Gopala (1060-1070)
6. Harshapal (1070-1090)
7. Dharma Pal (1090-1118)

These kings used the surname of "Pal" in imitation of the Pals of Gaur, but they did not belong to the same stock, as the original home of the Imperial Pals was some where near the sea coast, perhaps in Tamralipti. Brahmapal the first king built his new capital at Durjay (the Jugijan area) and built many temples which are still found. All except the last were followers of Vajrayana and Sahajayana or Nath Cult. They were weak rulers. It is perhaps Gopal who suffered a defeat from Emperor Ram Pal of Gaur, and Harsha Pal was probably defeated by King Vijay Sen of Gaur. There was a great upheaval of Vaishnavism in Bengal and Mithila in the beginning of the 12th Century. A wave of it touched Kamrup. The last king Dharma Pal was overwhelmed with it. He made gifts and donations of land to the Brahmans for the propagation of the Vasudev Cult; himself became a Vaishnava and then went away on pilgrimage. He had no son and the ruling power was grasped by Bijoy Sen, King of Gaur. The country was divided into very many small principalities, each ruled by a Bhuiya. The progress of Vaishnava cult however, received a setback and there was a sudden onrush of Buddhist tantricism into the country till Shanker Dev came into the field to carry the Krishna cult to the masses. All forms of worship and all sorts of religious ceremonies of modern times are influenced by Vaishnavism.

24. Early in the 13th century the Sen power in Bengal received a crushing blow by the invasion of the Mohammedans and about that time a Shan tribe from the kingdom of Pong, entered the eastern valley and led the foundations of the Ahom kingdom which was also known as Saumara Kingdom till the end of the 17th century. The name "Assam" was given to the province by the Mohammedans after these ruling people. The latest of the immigrants were the Burmese plundering parties. They entered Nowgong in the beginning of the 19th century. In 1824 they pillaged all the surrounding country and committed appalling atrocities, resulting in depopulation of the fair province. They had to be expelled by the British Army in 1826. Up to the Ahom invasion, however, the same standard of culture (both literary and religious) prevailed in Bengal as well as in Kamrup. Buddhism, Shakticism, Shaivism, Tantricism and Vaishnavism prevailed equally in both the provinces. In the seventh century, when Hiuen Tsang visited Kamrup, he found that the country contained hundreds of Deva temples with myriads of professed adherents to different Hindu cult. Kamrup was as important a seat of learning as any in Bengal.

25. Great literary works of merit were compiled by the Pandits of Kamrup, some of which are :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Kalika Purana —
(19th Century) | { All hills and rivers of
Assam are described in it. |
| (2) Niti Kusum —
(a work on State craft based on Shukraniti) | |
| (3) Akula Viratantra. | |
| (4) Kamakhya Guhya Siddhi. | |
| (5) Numerous Bajrayanist works. | |

BHAGA DATTA RULING DYNASTY OF KAMRUP.

(From the Copper plate of Bhaskar Varma discovered
at Nidhanpur.)

Pushya Varma Dynasty.	1. Pushya Varma	(Defeated by Samudra Gupta, Perhaps retreated into Burma and founded a Kingdom there.)
	2. Samudra Varma=Datta Devi.	
	3. Bala Varma=Ratna Devi.	
Bhaumapala Dynasty.	4. Kalyan Varma=Gandharva Devi.	(Ex-King of Magadh. Installed as the king of Kamrup by Samudra Gupta.
	5. Ganpati Varma=Yajna Devi.	
	6. Mahendra Varma=Subrata Devi.	
	7. Narayana Varma=Devabhuti.	
	8. Mahabhut Varma=Bijnana Vati.	
	9. Chandramukhi Varma=Bhogabati.	
	10. Sthita Varma=Nayana Devi.	
	11. Susthita Varma alias Mriganka	=Syama Devi.
	12. Supratishthita Varma	
		13. Bhaskar Varma died in 650
		14. Avanti Varma (Lost the throne in 655).

NOTE :— It has been stated in the early Chapters of this book that towards the end of the 1st Century on their retreat from Magadh, the Nagas settled in the forest areas of West Bengal. The areas inhabited by them were divided into several tracts i.e. (1) Manbhum, (2) Senbhum, (3) Singhbhum, (4) Dhalbhum, (5) Sikharbhum, (6) Mallabhum, (7) Birbhum, (8) Barababhum etc. The rulers of these "Bhums" were called "Bhaumapals" and the underland-holders were called "Bhuiyas". As the Nagas gradually spread themselves upto Orissa, these epithets were carried to their new homes, and ultimately to Kamrup.

SALASTAMBHA DYNASTY

(or MLECHCHHADHINATH DYNASTY.)

(Names adopted provisionally).

Belonged to
Bhaumapal
Dynasty.

1. Jaya Tunga (655-670)
2. Deva Varma (670-690)
3. Kumar Varma (690-710)
4. Vajra Dev (710-730)
5. Harsh Varma (730-750) (Father-in-law of
king Shiva Dev of
Nepal-Ruled over
Gaur, Karnasu-
burna, Odra, Kal-
inga, Koshal and
Kamrup.)
6. Bala Varma II (750-770)
7. Chakra (770-790)
8. Arati (790-810)
9. Pralambha (810-829)
10. Harjara (829-850)
11. (850-870)
12. (870-890) Defeated by king
Jaya Pal of Gaur.
13. (890-910)
14. (910-930)
15. (930-950)
16. (950-970)
17. Tyag Sinha (970-985)